Cosmic History and Messianic Vision: The Sculpture of Modena Cathedral at the time of the Crusades

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
1992

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation, which explores the connection between the sculpture of Modena Cathedral and the historical conditions of its conception and creation, begins by focusing on the nature of documentary evidence in the Prologue's discussion of the limits of historical understanding. Chapter One examines notions of history, both medieval and modern, as they are related to the historiography of the cathedral. Chapter Two analyzes the relationship of the Arthurian archivolt on the Porta della Pescheria to the Porta dei Principi, located on the southern flank of the cathedral, a connection heretofore ignored. In earlier investigations, the Arthurian archivolt on the Porta della Pescheria had been understood as a purely secular image, while the Porta dei Principi, with its lintel scenes of the life of San Geminiano, has been treated as a simple hagiographic narrative of Modena's patron saint.

The structural and visual affinities between the two doorways can be correlated to the connection between their stories and the significant increase in historical writing in the twelfth century, specifically contemporary chronicles

of the First Crusade. The persuasive narratives of the Crusade chronicles explained human history as an ever-expanding sacred reality in which past and present were seen as coexistent. Within this construct of Cosmic History, the visual narratives of Arthur and San Geminiano were interpreted as heroic tales associated with the contemporary reality of the Crusades. Such tales, when interpreted within the Church's teleological history, presaged a messianic vision of the Apocalypse. The stories of Arthur and San Geminiano were thus understood to conform to a cosmic history in which the central figures possessed both sacred and heroic meaning.

Chapter Three considers the sculpture of the two side doors in relation to the sculpture of the west facade, where four large, separate panels depict scenes from Genesis. The particular choice of Old Testament imagery can be related to the twelfth-century's emphasis on a universal world history. The meaning of Modena's exterior sculpture is seen to be multivalent in its structural and narrative connections with twelfth-century mappaemundi. Similar to medieval world maps, the vernacular present seen in the story of Arthur becomes the critical support of a great historia which unites the two poles of the distant biblical past and the ultimate end of days of the Second Coming.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the many people who offered me encouragement and support during the writing of this dissertation. First of all, to my teachers Linda Seidel and Jerrilynn Dodds, who were the first to encourage me to pursue my interest in Modena's sculpture, for their insightful suggestions and constant support of my project. Their friendship was and continues to be deeply cherished. My gratitude and thanks also goes to the generosity and encouragement of Stephen Murray who, along with Prof. Seidel, served as my dissertation advisor; and to the other members of my dissertation committee, David Rosand and Joan Ferrante, both of whom gave generously of their time and ideas. I am grateful to the archivist at Modena cathedral's Chapter Archives, Don Vigarani, and the archivist, Il Dottore Trenti, at the Archivio di Stato at Modena, for their most generous assistance to me in my research. My thanks goes to the research librarians at Avery Library and the library staff at the Interlibrary Loan Office at Columbia for their assistance and dedication, sometimes in the face of what seemed overwhelming obstacles, in locating and obtaining various sources for me throughout my research.

Finally, my thanks goes to my brother, Stanley Fox and sister-in-law, Maureen Buckley-Fox, for their ceaseless love and encouragement in a project which, at least for me,

appeared at times, without end. But, more than anyone else, I thank my dear husband Joe and my daughter Berit, without whose devotion, support and love this work would surely not have come to pass.

Prologue: The Limits of Historical Understanding

In the field of art history, the insistence on one particular "reading" of the visual has helped to distort the iconographic and indeed the archeological significance of works of art; perhaps more importantly, it has diminished our ability to recognize the complexity of ideas which reside in and form the basis of "meaning" in visual communication. This investigation of the sculpture at Modena cathedral, beginning with an examination of its historiography, regards the conclusions reached by various prior studies on Modena not as having been discovered apodictically but as having been in fact constructed.[1] Denial that interpretation is informed by the views of the investigator has led to a continual and seemingly unending round of rebuttals of previous interpretations all in the quest for a final and over-arching truth. Lost in this working method is an understanding of artistic production as a multivalent procedure in which a work of art is appreciated as a rich and varied polysemy. Multiplication of meaning lies at the heart of artistic practice; indeed conflict of meanings, rather than being a hindrance to interpretation, forms the very essence of art.

Varying interpretations of Modena's architecture and sculpture appealed to different viewers and investigators depending upon what was of interest to them at the time. These interpretations were as connected to the culture in which they were written as they were to the specific

documentary evidence presented. Such understanding of the cathedral brings into question the very nature of how we as historians have seen and understood this monument. Any study such as this which focuses upon the dual concerns of investigating both the art of the past and the creation of the historiography concerned with that past is not an easy task. We are asked to simultaneously consider the evidence before us, in this case the sculpture at Modena at the time of the Crusades, constructing an historical narrative from its concrete remnants, and, all the while, to be conscious of our particular historical positioning. Ultimately we must surrender to the act of writing itself and to the force of the narrative, hoping that the honesty of our approach will ease the discomfiture of this paradox.[2] Rather then presenting my remarks as a fixed set of answers, this prologue sets out to articulate questions to be derived from this study -- specifically questions concerned with the nature of documentary evidence. To allow for this more open-ended narrative, the prologue is structured not in the form of answers sought but of questions posed -- a form that better provides for discussion and further commentary.

Given the self conscious nature of this enterprise, it seems appropriate to investigate its theoretical ramifications by employing a semiotic method of analysis which asserts the impossibility of fixing a visual sign into one, and only one, "reading." Although the formal study of

semiotics was begun by linguists and philosophers, specifically, Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Pierce, the study of the theory of signs has not been limited to a particularly textual interpretation.[3] Indeed, semiotics can be seen as a fundamentally transdisciplinary theory, one that seems especially sensitive to the questions raised, in particular, by visual images. Examinations of the interrelatedness of image and text, and of the ability of images to form and exploit cultural imperatives have long been of interest to art historians.[4] In more recent years semiotics of the visual has extended itself to include other more culturally diverse interests. Problems which this study is concerned with, such as the questions of context, reception and narrative, have been discussed in more recent publications, in which positivist notions concerning the meaning and nature of documentary evidence have been challenged.[5]

The early twentieth-century excavation at Modena is an example of how semiotic investigation can aid our understanding of the archeological data. In 1913 an excavation of the cathedral revealed a portion of the nave pavement of an earlier church. A drawing executed at the time by Bertoni showed pier sections with four colonnettes engaged on the rectangular core. [fig. 1] A later excavation in 1919 revealed the presence of an eastern parallel wall of the old church placing the northern

colonnade in the area of the Porta della Pescheria, the northern side doorway. [fig. 2] This evidence of cruciform piers led investigators to date the preexisting church to the middle of the eleventh century.[6] [fig. 3] The possible existence of a preexisting church which predates the present cathedral by less than one hundred years has stimulated investigators to question the reasons for its early destruction. Suggestions have been made, by among others Gandolfo and Simeoni, that the archeological data from the 1913 dig revealed the changing political climate present at Modena at the beginning of the twelfth century.[7] According to their interpretations, the destruction of this earlier edifice pointed to the desire by the twelfth-century commune to eradicate all traces of its earlier imperial allegiance in order to present its newly formed papal loyalties, in the concrete form of the new cathedral, as a certain and natural occurrence.

Indeed, the building of the twelfth-century cathedral of Modena did occur during a period of intense political antagonism between church and state in northern Italy. The changes in papal allegiance which occurred at Modena around the beginning of the foundation of the cathedral in 1099 can be traced through the chronological history its bishops. Following the 1080 schism between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV, the bishops of Bologna and Arezzo, both supporters of the Emperor, installed the archbishop of

Ravenna, Guiberto, as the anti-pope Clement III.[8] As a result, Eriberto, the imperially appointed bishop at Modena who had headed the cathedral from 1055, was excommunicated by Gregory VII in the Lenten Synod of 1081. Investigators have pointed to a document presently found in the cathedral archives which cites Eriberto's calls for a cleansing of the chapter as a providential message after the establishment of orthodoxy at Modena as proof of this political maneuvering.[9] In 1086 Gregory appointed a new bishop, Benedetto. The exile of Benedetto by the commune and his subsequent protection by the Countess Matilda, the patron of Modena and a strong papal defender, reflects the conflict between the Emperor and Pope as witnessed by the contest of their opposing supporters, the commune and the Countess Matilda respectively.[10] Benedetto was in fact not seated in the cathedral until ten year later, at which point the commune had decided to end its schism with Rome.[11] At the time of the cathedral's consecration in 1099 the church had no bishop. Not until July 1100 is there any mention made of the new bishop, Dodone, who would go on to rule the diocese for the next thirty years.[12]

We are confronted then with the problem of determining out of the remaining concrete fragments of the past a clear and continuous history of the cathedral. Such inquiries ordinarily leave unstated their underlying assumption that views archeological knowledge as derived naturally from the

concrete remains. Yet, we have already noted, such projects are inevitably governed by issues relating to the period in which the historical investigation was conducted. They are the result of more complex maneuvers in which the archeological material is woven into a cultural matrix of rules and justifications meant to define the parameters of scholarly investigations themselves. This desire to see in each historical investigation of the cathedral at Modena a link in the continuous chain of the building's history makes the dating of the preexisting cathedral a potential obstacle: it must be reduced or resolved so that the record of the cathedral can be maintained as a historical continuum. The question remains then of how to both acknowledge this "sub-text" in the archaeological investigation of the preexisting cathedral without feeling the necessity to retreat from the seeming inability of history to objectify the past. If, however, the nature of historical discourse does not reside in the restoration of the past but rather in a mediation with the present, then the necessity to glean from such evidence definitive answers ceases to exist; the historian becomes, rather than a mere observer of history, an active participant in the on-going creation of history's narrative.

I am not suggesting here an abandonment of all limits, as in Foucault's suggestion of a proliferation of meaning where language (here interpreted as both visual and verbal)

is seen to be in a constant flux of meaning within the larger cultural discourse.[13] Rather, the limits of interpretation develop out of our clear enunciation of the essentially political nature of interpretation; the acknowledgement of a politics of reading reveals and thus guards against the exclusionary practices of power embedded in the cultural discourses of any age. I choose to focus on the "pathways of discourse," borrowing the phrase from Derrida, where the aim is not the discovery of an originary intent, an enterprise already compromised in its never ending regressions, but on the process of interpretation itself. This focus on the enterprise of discourse rather than upon its reputed ability to recover knowledge, redirects our energies away from the search for origins, a futile enterprise masked by the assumptions of privilege and power, to the situation of moments of discourse within their political and cultural realities.[14]

A second bias of art historical investigations brought into question by this dissertation is the emphasis on what has been defined as the intrinsic properties of works of art, their formal values. The central role that the artist and questions of facture have played in art history has created hierarchies of aesthetics and quality within such formalist concerns. Thus another area in which the limits of our historical understanding are challenged in our investigation of the sculpture at Modena involves the

question of authorship. Within the widening scope of semiotic theory the particular question of the author has been much examined.[15] A potentially rich avenue of exploration of this question involves an awareness of the more problematic view of the author. Here the difference between the biography of an individual, seen for example in the name Wiligelmo, is distinguised from the idea of the artist, Wiligelmo, a descriptive term which can be used interchangeably with the work itself. Awareness of this bifocal notion of author allows for a more critical analysis of a system of attribution in which both direct evidence, i.e. the style or hand of the artist seen in the work itself, and the indirect evidence of the artist's existence, i.e. documentary evidence, are employed to create an acceptable oeuvre of the artist. Semiotic investigations related to Lanfranco and Wiligelmo, the architect and sculptor respectively at Modena, are more instructive in illuminating such intellectual assumptions than in providing any clear proof of authorship.

At Modena, the names of both the sculptor and architect are announced by both sculptural and manuscript inscription.[16] Sculpted images of Enoch and Elijah found on the west facade of the cathedral at Modena support an inscribed tablet which dates the foundation of the cathedral to 9 June 1099. [fig. 4-5] The last portion of this

inscription names Wiligelmo as the sculptor of the cathedral:

> DU GEMINI CANCER CURSU CONSENDIT OUANTES
> IDIBUS IN QUINTIS IUNII SUPTRE MENSIS
> MILLE DEI CARNIS MONOS CENTU MINUS ANNIS
> ISTA DOMUS CLARI FUNDATUR GEMINIANI
>
> INTER SCULTORES QUANTOS SIS DIGNUS ONORE
> CLARET SCULTURA NUC WILIGELME TUA.[17]

Written in leonine verse, the two final pentameters, as opposed to the upper inscription's hexameters,[18] are carved in a different, smaller hand. This fact has engendered various attempts to explain the paleographic discrepancy.[19]

The inscription found on the exterior wall of the apse also specifically dates the foundation of the cathedral and cites Lanfranco as the its first director and master builder: [figs. 6-7]

> INGENIO CLARUS LANFRANCUS DOCTUS ET APTUS
> EST OPERIS PRINCEPS HUIUS RECTORQ MAGISTER
> QUO FIERI CEPIT DEMONSTRAT LITTERA PRESENS
> ANTE DIES QUINTUS IUNII TUNC FULSERAT IDUS
> ANNI POST MILLE DOMINI NONAGINTA NOVEMQ.[20]

Much has been written about Wiligelmo, and Lanfranco and their respective schools.[21] Based on the earliest tradition of art historical writing as exemplified by Vasari, the studies of these artists have constructed their careers and have helped to establish chronologies for them of style and influence. These studies have subsequently helped to buttress more overtly political concerns such as the question of national origin. In this paradigm, history is viewed as incidental or anecdotal to the essentially

ahistorical, chronological development of the artist; although constantly being cited, historical connections are invariably used in the service of a canon of stylistic chronology alone. Thus investigators have employed the Enoch and Elijah inscription at Modena, in conjunction with inscriptions found on the apse and on stone fragments discovered in the cathedral's crypt, in order to confirm the dates of construction of the cathedral.

In the case of Modena, this unquestioned notion of the author in which individual and artist are seamlessly united, has allowed for apparently endless debate concerned with the problem of attribution at the church. Much attention has, for example, been paid to the singling out of Wiligelmo's hand. By implication, those artifacts which do not fall within this select category are deemed derivative, of inferior quality, and thus of less interest for study.[22] Quintavalle's hypothesis concerning the original aspect of the cathedral's west facade turns to a large extent on a reassurance of the artistic direction of one individual, namely the architect Lanfranco.[23]

More contextual reading of artistic production, one which understands such an enterprise to be a series of contiguous events, has lead to a different equation, one in which the author/artist is identified with the function and purpose of the work of art itself.[24] But the rejection of the creative artist/genius model at Modena, a rejection

which this dissertation calls for, does not solve the problem. The investigation of the inscriptions at Modena which interprets the names of Wiligelmo and Lanfranco as part of a larger contextual understanding raises the question of how context itself is open to interpretation. The contextual reading of artistic production abandons the idea of an artistic totality in favor of the understanding of artistic production as an essentially contextual based strategy. It leads inevitably to the question of how to circumscribe meaning within a finite chain of events.[25] The answer lies in a certain honesty of intent, for it is in fact the writing of history that, by its very nature, imposes a beginning and end to this chain. Thus the narrator of these events, in this case the art historian, cannot distance herself from the metonymic process, but rather must see her work as integral to the entire body of knowledge which is itself open to interpretation. Indeed, the hagiographic model can be applied not only to the artist studied but as well to the investigator herself. Ultimately then, acknowledgment of the limits of our historical understanding -- although a humbling experience -- leads us to see historical investigations as more than detective work. The work of the historian becomes essentially connected to the creation of history itself.

Our examination of the sculpture at Modena includes an interpretation of the Arthurian legend as it appears on the

cathedral's northern side doorway. The appearance of a so-called popular image on a church brings into question the traditional practice of categorizing medieval art as an essentially binary opposition of 'sacred v. secular.' Although a convenient marker for modern investigators, this dichotomy held very little meaning for individuals in the twelfth century. At the same time, such categorization has limited modern investigators in their understanding of these "secular" images by enclosing the works within a unitary framework. In such a set of rules, divergence from these norms, for example, the appearance of secular images on church facades, has been deemed to be, as in the case of King Arthur at Modena, a singular curiosity. Yet, the essential character of these images lies in their heterogeneity. Not a unified image of vernacular romance, Arthur's meaning at Modena arose from and because of the seeming incongruity of its discourse.[26] Both the structural connections of varied images at Modena and the contextual connections between these images and the larger culture are the essential components in our understanding of these visual narratives.

Allowance for the *trace* created in the different interpretations that accrue to these images is essential for the propagation of meaning. The recognition of these connections permits us a broader understanding of how images worked in the Middle Ages, particularly the manner in which

images employed an essentially fluid exchange of interpretations in order to produce meaning.[27]

Images of the rider, like Modena's King Arthur, frequently occurred in the twelfth century in northern Italy. These examples rather than being simply added "proof" of a theory, allow us to reexamine the canonical structures which have forced these images into the margins. Such deconstructive strategies reinvigorate our understanding of these images by revealing the motives of their marginalization. Images of riders appear in the sculpture of ecclesiastical foundations associated with Modena's patron Matilda. For the most part small parish churches in the Modenese Appenines, they display sculptural decorations of mounted warriors associated with those on Modena's Arthurian archivolt.

The Pieve di Trebbio, traditionally dated by documentary evidence to 1108, contains only one narrative image among its decorated capitals.[28] [fig. 8] The semi-attached capital, located in the nave of this small church, reveals two opposing mounted knights armed and ready for battle. Above them appears the hand of God while a dragon is seen trampled beneath their horses' hooves. Both the dragon and one of the knights wear phrygian caps, the caps worn by Jews in medieval Europe which had come to symbolize the infidel, both Jew and Muslim.[29] As the sole narrative decoration in this small nave, the battle of the two mounted

knights, sanctioned by Divine blessing, summons a potent image of the *miles Christi* as he fought to free Jerusalem from the infidels during the First Crusade.[30]

S. Bartolomeo di Fiumalbo, another parish church in the Modenese Appenines traditionally connected with the Countess Matilda, contains a series of carved images which earlier investigators have linked to the sculpture at Modena.[31] These images, which now appear on the interior facade of the south-west wall and on the lower portion of a reliquary altar, may have once comprised a portal structure of architrave and pilasters.[32] The sculpture presently on the lower portion of the altar shows a battle scene frieze of archers and foot soldiers armed with swords. [figs. 9-10] The pilasters include images of mounted knights armed with lances and an image of two figures, male and female, astride a single horse. In this last image, the woman holds a flower in her hand while behind her a knight, brandishing a sword in one hand, clasps his female companion by the waist. In terms of narrative intent, the Fiumalbo image of a maiden and knight astride a single horse, understood within the context of combat imagery, recalls a similar image of a maiden's rescue on the Porta della Pescheria, where Arthur and his knights are seen rescuing Guinevere, the queen. The assumption of a more political interpretation allows for a reading of these "secular" images as comparable allusions to notions of the heroic individual and the Crusades.[33]

Knightly images were not confined however to these modest parish churches. In the region of Emilia-Romagna and the neighboring Veneto, knights and other heroic figures appear on mosaic pavements, facades, doorways and interior capitals of important ecclesiastical foundations.[34] These images were not however mere passive objects to be employed in constructing or reconstructing some prior truth. They were instead active phenomena which occurred in specific cultural circumstances. Like the sculpture at Modena, they communicated within a specific set of socially formed relationships and rules. Meaning for these images resulted from the specific selection of such conventions. All such rules and relationships helped to determine and announce the power of the Church through messages which had accrued unto them the signs of authority, both past and present. A lesson then from the study of Modena, revolves around this essentially political aspect in the interpretation of visual signs. For as the interpretations of meaning at Modena were framed within a cultural milieu of specific rules and conventions, similar strategies of authority and power remain central considerations in all human endeavors. Denied the attainment of any fixed and *a priori* truth, conscious examinations of the search for origins in intellectual enterprises underscore the provisional nature of all language both written and visual.[35] The loss of an authoritative center in such deconstructive strategies need

not lead to a chaos of competing voices. Rather, the awareness and acknowledgment of the limits of our historical understanding demand of us a greater sense of personal responsibility. Such maneuvers should aid us in all our endeavors both inside and outside of the academy.

NOTES

1. Feminist art criticism has been highly influential in uncovering the fundamentally political aspect of interpretation in the study of art. See for example Lisa Tickner's article "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," Genders 3 (Fall 1988): 92-128. Mieke Bal discusses interpretation and analysis as essential elements of meaning in her latest publication Reading Rembrandt. Beyond the Word-Image Opposition (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For an excellent overview of feminist art history see Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, "The Feminist Critique of Art History," Art Bulletin LXIX (September 1987): 326-357.

2. Jacques Derrida admits to such a "surrender" in his discussion of writing. See Of Grammatology.

3. For a discussion of the work of Saussure and Pierce see, for example: M. Iversen. "Saussure v. Pierce: Models for a Semiotics of Visual Art," in The New Art History, A.L. Rees and F. Borzello, eds. (Atlantic Highlands: 1988): 82-94; and Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin 73/2 (1991): sections 4 and 5.

4. An example of semiotical investigations of the visual can be found in the writings of Meyer Schapiro. See, for example, "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs," Semiotica 1 (1969): 223-242.

5. Feminist critiques are particularly relevant here. For example, the question of interpretation and the gaze in the study of Renaissance portraiture is investigated by Patricia Simons in "Women in Frames: the gaze, the eye, the profile in Renaissance portraiture," History Workshop Journal 25 (Spring 1988): 4-30. The political positioning seen in Biblical interpretation, both historical and modern, is discussed in terms of exclusion and power by Elaine Pagels. See The Gnostic Gospels. Linda Seidel's work on cultural and spiritual connections in the sculptural facades of Acquitaine also addresses this issue of power. See Songs of Glory. the Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

6. G. Bertoni, La cattedrale modenese preesistente all'attuale. Primo ragguaglio sugli scavi del Duomo (Modena, 1914); T. Sandonnini, Cronaca dei restauri del Duomo di Modena (1897-1925); O. Baracchi Giovanardi, ed.(Modena, 1983). For discussion of the earlier cathedral see, for example: Adriano Peroni,, "L'architetto Lanfranco e la struttura del Duomo," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di

Modena (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1984): 143-62; --------, ed., Il Duomo di Modena. Atlante grafico (Modena, 1989); Francesco Gandolfo, "Problemi della cattedrale di Modena," Commentari NS XII (1971): 124-55; Roberto Salvini, Il Duomo di Modena e il romanico nel modenese (Modena, 1966): 56ff; Paul Frankl, "Der Dom in Modena," Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft (1972): 39-54.

7. Scholars such as Simeoni and Gandolfo have noted the newly acquired pro-papal sentiments of the Commune as important components in the building of the new cathedral. L. Simeoni, "I vescovi Eriberto e Dodone e le origini del Comune di Modena," in Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi, ser. 8, 2 (1949): 77-96; Francesco Gandolfo, "Note per una interpretazione iconologia delle storie del Genesi di Wiligelmo," in Romanico padano, romanico europeo, (Modena,Parma, 1977): 303-337.

8. The Investiture controversy is marked by charge and counter-charge on the part of Emperor and Pope. The installation of the anti-Pope in 1080 comes as the culmination of Pope Gregory's reassertion of papal powers in the Dictatus Pape and the First Investiture Decree of 1075, the subsequent action by Henry IV at the Council of Worms (1076) to depose Gregory, and the predictable reaction of Gregory to excommunicate Henry. For further discussion of the Investiture Controversy see, for example, I.S. Robinson. Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Controversy. The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century (Manchester, 1978); Karl Frederick Morrison, Holiness and Politics in Early Medieval Thought (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985); and Karl Frederick Morrison, ed. The Investiture Controversy: Issues, Ideals, and Results (Huntington, NY: R.E. Krieger, 1978)

9. Gandolfo.

10. Simeoni, 83-84.

11. Gandolfo.

12. See E. P. Vicini for this 2 December 1100 document: Regesto della chiesa cattedrale di Modena, Regesta Chartarum Italiae, (Rome, 1931): no. 292, p.266.

13. See for example Foucault's discussion of discursive strategies in The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

14. This notion coincides with the Derridian deconstructive strategies where Derrida defines the *trace* as encompassing "a pathway," or "track in the text." "Without that track, abandoned to the simple content of its conclusions, the text will so closely resemble the precritical text as to be indistingiusable [sic] from it." Of Grammatology, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, trans. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974): 61.

15. See, for example: Michel Foucault, "What is an Author," in Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, D.F. Bouchard, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977): 113-138; and Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Image - Music - Text, S. Heath, trans. (New York: 1977).

16. The stone inscriptions are specifically the Enoch and Elijah plaque found on the west facade, the inscription on the exterior portion of the apse. The primary manuscript source which deals specifically with the foundation of the church and cites the architect Lanfranco is the record of S. Geminiano's translation, the *Translatio Corporis Sancti Geminiani*, known as the *Relatio*, (Modena, Archivio Capitolare ms. O.II N.11). For the most recent publication on the *Relatio* see W. Montorsi, Riedificazione del Duomo di Modena e translazione dell'arca di San Geminiano, Cronaca e miniature della prima età romanica (Modena, 1984).

17. "On the ninth day of June, when the constellation of Gemini joyfully overcomes the constellation of Cancer, in the year of our Lord 1099, this temple of the illustrious Geminiano was founded. Amongst sculptors, how worthy of honor and fame thou art, thy sculptures now show, O Wiligelmo." I have used Arthur Kingsley Porter's translation, see Lombard Architecture, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917): III, 15.

18. Noted by Campana, 365.

19. For the most recent discussion of the inscription, including a review of previous scholarship see Montorsi, Iscrizioni modenesi romanische e gotiche. Duomo e Palazzo de Comune (Modena, 1977): 120, 129; and the discussion of the historiography of the inscriptions at Modena by Augusto Campana, "La testimonianza delle iscrizioni," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 363. Campana, for example, has offered the hypothesis that the author of this portion of the inscription is the twelfth-century magister of the cathedral school, Aimone, whose name appears on the cathedral's apse inscription.

20. "The ingenious, brilliant, learned and skillful Lanfranco is the first master and director of the work by whom it was begun as this written sign presents." HOS UTILES FACTO VERSUS COMPOSUIT AIMO. BOCALINUS MASSARIUS SANCTI IEMINIANI. HOC OPUS FIERI FECIT.

21. For example, Quintavalle devoted an article in 1973 to a careful study of the original appearance of the Cathedral of Piacenza. Here he establishes its connection with Modena and its relationship to Wiligelmo as well as the sculptor's connection to Aquitaine. "Piacenza Cathedral, Lanfranco, and the School of Wiligelmo," Art Bulletin 55 (1973): 40-57. More recent publications include the papers delivered at the 1985 conference, Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romanica, Atti del Convegno, Modena 24-27 October 1985 (Modena, n.d.).

22. The two side doorways of the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi fall within this category. Both are seen to be later (derivative). In the case of the Arthurian doorway, the unusual arrangement of stones and the recent history of its reattachment to the northern facade has allowed such investigations to pronounce the doorway as a reconstruction and thus of questionable value due to the nature of the tampered evidence. See chapter one for a fuller citation of writings on these doorways.

23. See the appropriate endnotes of chapter one for particular references on this subject.

24. For example, Michael Baxandall has discussed the artist as conduit for cultural pronouncements. See for example, Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

25. Hayden White discusses this in his definition of synecdoche and metonymy. Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973): 34-36.

26. Roland Barthes discusses this notion of discourse in his analysis of Balzac's writing in S/Z, R. Miller, trans. (New York, 1975). An essential feature in determining meaning for Barthes lies in the culturally constructed reading of the novel. Bakhtin discusses this multivalence in his discussion of the essential polyphony, or *heteroglossia* of literary discourse. The Dialogic Imagination, M. Holquist, ed., C. Emerson and M. Holquist, trans. (Austin, 1981).

27. Derrida understands the *trace* as "an operation and not a state, an active movement and not a structure." On Grammatology, 51.

28. The dating of this church from a now lost inscription has been argued as either 1058 or 1108, based on problems concerning the accuracy of the transcribing of the original inscription. For further discussion on Trebbio see: Tempo Sospeso. L'Arte romanica delle montagne modenesi. (ed) Paolo Montorsi (Modena: Deputazione di Storia patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi, Biblioteca Serie Speciale no. 9, 1987), in particular the chapter by Paolo Montorsi, "Le Sculture della Pieve di Trebbio;" F. Manzini, Le Pieve di Trebbio (Modena, 1897); Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture, vol. III, 281ff; V. Maestri, Di alcune costruzioni medioevali dell'Appennino Modenese (1895-1901) (Modena: Deputazione di Storia Patria di Modena nella Biblioteca, no. 80, 1984); Salvini, Il Duomo di Modena: 23-43.

29. Ruth Mellinkoff, The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought. (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1970): 128-130.

30. Linda Seidel discusses the association made in the Middle Ages between rider images and the struggle against Islam. See Linda Seidel, "Holy Warriors: the Romanesque Rider and the Fight Against Islam" in The Holy War, Thomas Patrick Murphy, trans. (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1976): 33-54.

31. Arthur Kingsley Porter, with his usually keen eye and insight, remarked on Fiumalbo's connection to the Porta della Pescheria: Lombard Architecture, Vol. I, 437. Although the dating of this church is at times assigned to as late as ca. 1220, the sculpture at Fiumalbo attest to the importance afforded to knightly heroes within the ecclesiastical domain. Relatively little has been published on Fiumalbo. For additional information see Paolo Montorsi, "Le Sculture Romaniche di Fiumalbo," in Tempo Sospeso; and G. Pacchoni, "Varazioni di motivi romanici Lombardi in alcune costruzioni montanare dell'Emilia" L'Arte X (1907): 130.

32. See Montorsi's article in Tempo Sospeso

33. For a fuller, more careful exposition of the connection between the image of the rider and contemporary concerns of the First Crusade, interpretation which draws upon the wider cultural developments of the twelfth century, see the relevant sections of chapter two of this dissertation.

34. The large number of such images would require a separate investigation. Therefore, I cite here only a selected number of examples. Mounted knights in battle appear on interior capitals in the cathedral of Parma. For Parma see, for example: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, La cattedrale di Parma e il romanico europeo Il romanico padano, vol. I (Università di Parma: Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, 1974); Roberto Tassi Il duomo di Parma vol. I, Il tempo romanico (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi Editore, 1966).

San Zeno in Verona, contains an image of a knight on horseback, representing May in the Labors of the Months on the soffits of the porch portal. This iconography, as opposed to the image of a maiden holding a flower, is noted in the chapter devoted to San Zeno by Christine Verzàr. See: Christine Versàr Bornstein, Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: the Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context (Parma: University of Parma, 1988): Chapter VI. For further discussion on San Zeno see the monographic work by Alessandro Da Lisca, La basilica di S. Zenone in Verona. (Verona: Scuola Tipografica 'Don Bosco,' 1941). Again at San Zeno, equestrian imagery, generally regarded as portraying the life of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, is seen on the southern side portal, beneath Old Testament images. For more on the legend of Theodoric at San Zeno see Verzàr, op. cit.; Raffaele Fasanari, "La leggendaria caccia di Teodorico nei rilievi della basilica di S. Zeno" Vita veronese 8 (1955): 11-16. There is some doubt that the scenes depict the story of Theodoric. Rita LaJeune, for example, interprets these images as scenes from the legend of Roland. Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages. (1966) 2 vols. Christine Trollope (trans) (New York: Phaidon, 1971): vol. I, 72.

The mosaic pavement at San Savino in Piacenza contains images of mounted knights. For further discussion of the mosaics at San Savino see, for example: William Tronzo, "Moral Hieroglyphs," and Salvini, La basilica di S. Savino.

The apotheosis of Alexander the Great appears on the facade of San Donnino in Fidenza, and images of Roland and Oliver are seen flanking the monumental porch portal at the cathedral of Verona. For further discussion of San Donnino see, for example: Claudio Saporetti, La chiesa di San Donnino (Fidenza: Edizioni Mattioli, 1973). The image of Alexander's ascension appears elsewhere in Italy, for example at Narni. For further discussion of the apotheosis of Alexander see: Roger Sherman Loomis, "Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey," Burlington Magazine 32 (1918) 136-40, 177-85; and Chiara Settis-Frugoni, Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem. Origine, iconografia e fortuna di un tema Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi storici, fasc. 80-82. (Rome: Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo, 1973). For further discussion of the cathedral at Verona see: C. Verzàr's

discussion in Portal and Politics, chapter V; and Rita Lejeune. Roland et Olivier au portail du Dôme de Verone (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1961).

The political and cultural connections between these images are discussed in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

35. Jacques Derrida speaks eloquently of the provisional value of origins: "Knowledge is not a systematic tracking down of a truth that is hidden but may be found. It is rather the field of '*freeplay*,' that is to say, a field of infinite substitutions in the closure of a finite ensemble." Writing and Difference (1967) Alan Bass, trans. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978): 423.

Chapter One: Interpretations of History and the Historiography of Modena Cathedral.

In the vast scholarship comprising the study of Italian Romanesque art, the Cathedral of Modena represents for Italy one of its great patronymic monuments. As a result of and in conjunction with this fact, a substantial volume of written material concerning the Cathedral has developed.[1] As early as 1917, Arthur Kingsley Porter remarked on the large quantity of literature devoted to the Cathedral.[2] The recent comprehensive volume, Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena, published in 1984, lists an impressive seven hundred and twenty six citations in its bibliography.[3] A general inspection of Dorothy Glass's annotated bibliography on Italian Romanesque Sculpture reveals sixty-four citations concerned with the Cathedral of Modena, by far the largest collection of writings on any Italian monument in the entire volume.[4] Dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, in the early decades following its construction, to the present day of the late twentieth century, the cumulative force of this body of work imposes upon the reader a critical illusion of completion and finish, a suggestion that fundamental questions and historical realities already have been answered and determined.

This dissertation, which explores the connection between the sculpture of Modena Cathedral and the historical conditions of its conception and creation, joins, then, an already reconciled standard of interpretation. Opening chapters of dissertations in the field of art history

frequently review in chronological fashion the various archeological, historical, and art historical writings, including changes and restorations of the church fabric. Such discussions in regard to this reexamination of Modena's sculpture are insufficient to address this question of precedence. More fundamental to and underlying these written "documents" is a requirement to explore the changing attitudes toward the Duomo, and the resulting interpretations reflected in these texts, by examining the question of history and of historical discourse as understood and practiced both today and in the past. For without a cogent investigation into the origins of an enterprise one cannot intelligently place one's own scholarship within the larger field without inevitably and unconsciously surrendering to the repressive presence of what is not said.[5] This is especially pertinent to this project since notions of history, as exemplified by the great increase in historical writings of the twelfth century, and in particular the chronicles of the First Crusades, were integral in determining the selection and display of images within Modena's sculptural program. Thus, in addition to modern historiographical concepts, a critical investigation into the writing and interpretation of history must include medieval concepts of history and history writing. This critique should integrate then with specific

examinations of the varied ways in which the Cathedral was perceived in the many centuries since its construction.

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

> "History is the recital of facts represented as true. Fable, on the contrary, is the recital of facts represented as fiction."
>
> -- Voltaire.[6]

The attempt to rediscover what in reality transpired in the past is only part of history's narrative. Equally pertinent is the interpretation of contemporary events by individuals, and the substantial influence that these interpretations had upon the society at large. The creation of the sculpture at Modena occurred during the period of the First Crusade, a period in which were produced a large body of historical texts. These twelfth-century chronicles, all written after the Christian conquest of Jerusalem, were employed not simply as a recounting of events either witnessed or recorded, but rather were used as polemical arguments to justify the Church's ambitions.[7] These persuasive narratives were set within a fixed rhetorical framework; for in the Middle Ages, the importance of history was in its retelling, where present events were validated by

their placement in a larger, cosmic world order. Raymond of Aguiliers, himself an eyewitness to the First Crusade, employed the earlier *Gesta Francorum* as a corrective for his work.[8] Peter Tudebode applied an almost wholesale inclusion of the *Gesta* in his *Historia.* Ekkehard of Aura, who also accompanied the crusaders, used the earlier work, as well, for his own account.[9] In the Middle Ages such plagiarism was a virtue -- identification with previous authority was itself proof of the author's competence. The major link in this chain of authority was the Bible, the primary source of knowledge for medieval writers.[10]

Chroniclers reporting on Pope Urban's speech at Clermont, which had initially inspired the Crusades, employed biblical sources to validate their own histories and emphasize the prophetic destiny of the crusading armies.[11] Guibert of Nogent's account of the Pope's speech at Clermont, written ca. 1110, pictures the Pope's preaching of the First Crusade in apocalyptic terms.[12] Employing the prophesy in the second epistle of the Thessalonians (II: 4) Guibert recalls the prophecy of the Antichrist who will enter Jerusalem to fight against the Christians just prior to the Last Days. Through this peculiar but strangely logical progression, Guibert saw the liberation of Jerusalem from Islam as a necessary prelude to the Apocalypse, in order that Jerusalem might be in Christian hands and thus ready itself for its final destiny. Other chroniclers of

the First Crusade, Robert the Monk and Baldric of Bourgueil, for example, saw the Crusade as fulfillment of prophecy in the predestined sequence of events leading to the Last Days. Searching the Old Testament for passages foretelling the contemporary retaking of Jerusalem, they perceived the liberation of Jerusalem as the crucial event in the overall Sacred History of the Church.[13] More than a mere description, these accounts attest to the manner in which such historical events were interpreted in the twelfth century.

Facts for the medieval historian were in reality a mixture of personal observations and previous writings of earlier authorities.[14] In this paradigm life, as understood by the medieval historian, was an ever-expanding sacred reality in which past and present were seen to coexist. True history for medieval writers was not the logical truth of an historical progression but the potent force of myth set within a universal sacred order.

The concrete, both in substance and event, admitted of a palpable reality, where human acts obtained their importance through the identification with a transcendent order.[15] Earthly deeds acquired meaning in this framework by reproducing these mythic circumstances. In the culture of the twelfth century, where events and social intercourse continued to be marked and authorized through action and gesture, such transactions remained deeply dependent upon

the spoken word.[16] Thus, past events were often reconstructed and reinterpreted, for, without the tyranny of the written word, the elimination of those parts of cultural memory deemed no longer relevant to one's present experience was tolerated with greater facility.[17] God's presence, evidenced in these specific events of historical circumstance, allowed history to unfold from these heightened moments of God's interventions.[18] The Crusade to recapture Jerusalem was such a moment. The holy war to Jerusalem was understood not just as evidence of God's presence in the world, but additionally as a marker of and a prerequisite for humanity's final salvation.[19]

Heroic stories from the Old Testament were interpreted by contemporary chroniclers as prophetic validations of eschatological expectations connecting the Last Days with the Holy War to Jerusalem. In such stories teleological concepts of time were joined with eschatological notions of the beginning and end of time. One such heroic story, the Maccabees' battle for Jerusalem, was understood as an Old Testament proto-Crusade. Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent, cite this story in their retelling of Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095.[20] Such Christian messianism directed past experience towards the moment when all time and history would cease. In this system, history was tolerated and understood as the repetition of distinct

tangible events; and was countenanced for its redemptive promise.

The ability of history to intervene in the ontological foundations of the Universe was founded on this transcendent faith in God's temporal mediations. The written histories which developed in the twelfth century expanded upon these earlier medieval historical notions. The medieval desire for a perfect state, perceived as occurring both in the past and the future (for example, The Garden of Eden and the Second Coming), was thought not to be gained through progress but rather by predestiny. Twelfth-century history, with its greater emphasis on heroic acts of individuals as manifestations of Divine intervention, added to this earlier belief in the equation between past and future by giving new importance to present time.[21] Linear time and cyclical time were joined in a great Sacred History by this belief in the palpable presence of God within the human experience.

Evidence of this conflation of time lies in the collective memory of medieval society. The transformation of the stories of great men such as King Arthur, in which specific actions were transformed into myths developed from this ongoing historical retelling.[22] Heros such as Arthur were seen not only as temporal historical figures, but also mythic ones. Mircea Eliade sees the transformation from an historical to a symbolic account in the biographies of Alexander the Great and St. George as proof of this mixing

of profane and mythic time.[23] The same transformation occurs in the story of Arthur as interpreted on the Porta della Pescheria at Modena. The emphasis on the individual allowed twelfth-century historical discourse to develop a decidedly progressive notion of history.

The human dimension of history which developed in the twelfth century influenced much of later historical thought. Confidence in the progressive nature of history, which characterized the eighteenth century and the age of Enlightenment, had its origins in this new history of the twelfth century.[24] Implicit in the methodology of Enlightenment historiography, dominated as it was by the scientific method, was the basic and unstated assumptions concerning not only history's progressive nature but also the objectivity of historical discourse. Scientific methods developed in the Enlightenment, assuming the notion of a thinking subject separate and against the world of real objects, ignored the inevitable inclusion of the observer in historical events.[25] The objectivity of the historian, as it developed in the eighteenth century, thereby recast history as a more decidedly progressive concern.

THE ORIGINS OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MODENA CATHEDRAL: Hagiography and the History of the City, sixteenth to the seventeenth century.

The earliest writings on Modena Cathedral date from well before the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment. These early texts have their origins in two older conventions of historical discourse: the medieval literary genre of hagiography, in which the importance of the Duomo was connected to the relics of its patron saint S. Geminiano, and the antiquarian tradition of annals and chronicles, concerned primarily with the local history of the city of Modena.[26] The beginnings of the historiography of the Cathedral of Modena, conceived within these two older historical traditions, thus retained essential, medieval notions concerning the nature of history.

The first printed notice of the Cathedral of Modena occurs in the incunabulum by Giovanni Parenti, *Vita di San Geminiano*, printed in 1495.[27] This early historiographical example values the Cathedral in its role as repository of the relics of the city's patron, the ancient bishop S. Geminiano. Parenti's manuscript includes drawings of the west facade and northern flank of the cathedral, as well as an image of the patron saint holding a model of his church in his outstretched palm. S. Geminiano is prominent in all three images. He stands at the entrance to the central door of the west facade, filling the entire space of the entryway. In the drawing which depicts the northern flank

of the cathedral, with its loggia and lombard arched exterior wall articulation, he is pictured performing one of his miracles, as he saves a young boy who had fallen from the bell tower, by catching him in mid air by the hair.[28] [figs. 11-12].

Modern historical notions of time and place contributed little towards the purposes of hagiographic literature. Rather, the narrative of saints' lives transpired outside of space and time within an ideal world, wherein the progressive course of history was deemed unimportant. Developed from medieval notions which saw cyclical and teleological time united within the sacred history of the Church, hagiographies ignored any specific chronological assessment. Only God's time, in which the mythic and the profane, manifested in the world as acts, or events, was thought significant.[29]

This embodiment of the Duomo as the material evidence of the continuing power of its patron, a convention in which the local history of the city is equated with the achievements of its bishops, can be traced in Modena as far back as the end of the ninth century, in the period of renewal of the city after centuries of abandonment. The principle text written in this period, which sought to equate the city and its patron saint, was the *Vita di S. Geminiano,* known in two versions, the "Short Life" dating from the end of the ninth century, beginning of the tenth

century, and the "Long Life" which dates from the mid-eleventh century.[30]

An important source of medieval literature, *Vitae* were notable early instances of medieval historical narrative.[31] Modern commentators and researchers of hagiographical material have remarked upon the genre's fixed format in which the acts of martyrdom, witnesses' accounts of miracles, legends and translations of relics are replicated, sometimes almost verbatim, in numerous Lives.[32] Not the result of unimaginative authors, rather, such *topoi* underscored a basic purpose of these works as *exempla,* rhetorical edifications designed to serve as partisan polemic for local churches.[33]

This literary convention of regarding the patron saint's biography as a mirror of specific social as well as religious considerations determines the particular content and focus of the Lives of S. Geminiano. Similarities have been shown to exist between S. Geminiano's Lives and the Life of San Zeno, whose cult was widely known in Modena from the end of the eighth century.[34] Two specific miracles, the liberation of the emperor's daughter from the demon and the miraculous diversion of water from the saint's church appear in the *Vitae* of both saints. The Chapter archive of the cathedral at Modena contains a copy of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.[35] Included in this manuscript is a series of legends of Attila, the *Flagellum Dei*, dating from

the eighth century. Both of these manuscripts have been noted as hagiographic models for the Life of S. Geminiano.[36] These writings are contemporaneous with the writing of the "Short Life." The emphasis on imperial associations and defense of the city against barbarian invasions and natural disasters seen in these earlier manuscripts mirrors the concerns and functions of the bishops of Modena at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century as Modena was attempting to recover from the onslaught of the Hungarian invasions.

This equation established in the medieval hagiographic tradition between commune, cathedral and patron was evidenced in Parenti's incunabulum, as no effort was made to consider the art and architecture of the cathedral as discrete critical objects for study. Rather the beauty of the Duomo was understood to derive from this pivotal equivalence created between the fabric of the church and its patron S. Geminiano.

The hagiographic tradition continued into the seventeenth century with a catalogue of Modena's bishops written by Sillingardi, in which descriptions of the *Vita* of S. Geminiano and the later Life of the saint by Dodone both made reference to the Duomo.[37] The central equation between patron and cathedral extended into the eighteenth century with works such as the catalog Italia Sacra written by Ughelli, which closely followed Sillingardi's format,[38] and

the Life of S. Geminiano by Rossi which commented on the foundation and consecration of the cathedral and included views of both the west facade and southern flank.[39]

The medieval belief in the unity of sacred history punctuated by divinely inspired events and acts, persisted into the modern period, and is evidenced in the chronicles and annals of the seventeenth-century antiquarians. The seemingly diverse phenomena of human experience recorded by antiquarians, were understood as occurrences within a world continuum. The variety of these historical events did not diminish but rather enhanced the great unity of history, where the consonance of all human experience overrode any apparent conflict which at first might negate the inherent affinity of contemporary world events.[40]

Local modenese antiquarians such as Tiraboschi and Muratori employed philological methodologies in an attempt to construct a continuous and ordered past comprised solely of such events.[41] Muratori, the ducal archivist at Modena, collected and cataloged impressive numbers of documents of the city's history. His writings, with their neo-classical bias, are concerned with the editing and assessing of these records in an attempt to integrate Modena's history into a great historical continuum with its classical past.[42] The catalog entries of the Ducal librarian Tiraboschi, written in the eighteenth century, continued in the antiquarian tradition. Organized after the style of Vasari's "Lives,"

they discussed the architect and sculptor of the Duomo, Lanfranco and Wiligelmo, and constituted an early example in which the church was examined and appreciated as a distinct architectural structure.[43]

The examination of the Duomo by another modenese churchman, Vedriani, is constructed in Vasarian fashion using biographical and chronological categories. While praising the architecture of the cathedral, it contains discussions of the sculpture, specifically one of the earliest descriptions of the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi, the northern and southern portals respectively of the cathedral.[44] Vedriani describes the apostles on the doorposts of the Porta dei Principi and the architrave's portrayal of the Life of S. Geminiano. The Porta della Pescheria's doorposts, with their labors of the months are cataloged along with notation of the inscriptions placed above the story of Arthur on the archivolt and the partial inscription still visible at the base to the right of the doorway.[45]

Analysis of the many inscriptions on the cathedral was an important task for Vedriani and other local antiquarians. Determined to establish a unified historical progression of such philological interests strengthened the antiquarian view of the cathedral as a concrete document of the past.[46] These antiquarians all sought in their chronicles a perfect objectivity to reassure themselves of the orderliness and

continuity of history. Not so very different from medieval concepts of history which joined the perfect moments of the beginning and end of history through Divine predestiny, the antiquarian employed philology as proof of a unified world order. It was only in the next century that historians turned their attention away from these conjunctive concepts towards a more specifically teleologically directed history, in which the imprimatur of the natural sciences and the scientific method replaced the antiquarians' cyclical, unified image of the world.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE MEDIEVAL MONUMENT: Travelogues and itineraries, the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century historians and philosophers of history attempted to justify an organic concept of the human condition in which the field of investigation encompassed the entire spectrum of cultural existence, by using an analysis derived from the physical sciences. These investigations attempted to explain all human experience by assuming an objective stance towards past events and subsequently dissecting these phenomena bit by bit in order to understand them. Thus they critiqued society in light of a moral ideal while basing their analysis on the results of a scientific, causal methodology. The Middle Ages with its basis for knowledge deeply rooted in issues of faith was treated with contempt by many historians of this period.

Judged not worthy of study, the medieval period was largely ignored; only antiquity was regarded with serious concern.

By the eighteenth century, Italy with its classical heritage had become the great pilgrimage site for Europeans seeking to discover the wonders and beauty of antiquity. Much of our knowledge of how the cathedral of Modena was seen in this period derives from the writings of these travelers.[47] The earliest known post-medieval itinerary which mentions the Duomo was written prior to the Enlightenment at the beginning of the seventeenth century by an anonymous French traveler.[48] Barely distanced at this point from the Middle Ages, our traveler continues to appreciate the cathedral's beauty: "La grande église episcopale est belle et la place qui est au devant a bone façon."[49] The prelate Sieur de Rogissart, writing at the very end of the seventeenth century, maintains, as well, a positive point of view towards the cathedral.[50] After discussing the ancient history of the city, from Roman antiquity through the Carolingian period, he adds his affirmative assessment of the church, employing the hagiographic tradition of equating the cathedral with its patron saint S. Geminiano: "L'Église Cathédrale où l'on conserve le corps de Saint Geminien Evêque de Modène, est assez belle; il y a quelques bon morceaux du Guide."[51]

By the eighteenth century the Duomo at Modena, with all its medieval trappings, viewed as the very embodiment of the

irrationality of faith, was demeaned and scorned by many observers.[52] The main attraction for travelers to Modena was the famous library of Muratori which was devoted to the study of classical history. Charles de Brosses' letters from Italy, dating from this period, include a conversational chronicle of social encounters in Modena. He neglects altogether any mention of the Duomo, including only a short mention of Muratori's library.[53] Joseph de Lalande's itinerary of 1765-66 devotes a considerable amount of writing to the city of Modena.[54] Containing a detailed history of Modena which emphasizes the classical remains still extant in the Middle Ages, de Lalande cites, as well, the Ducal archivists Muratori and Tiraboschi, adding detailed descriptions of the Ducal Palace and the many paintings in its collection. As part of a discussion of the churches of Modena, the Duomo is characterized as an ugly Gothic edifice, but one which continues to be valued by the writer as the burial place of its patron, S. Geminiano: "Il Duomo est un église episcopale, dont l'evêque est sussragant de Bologne, le bâtiment est d'un gothique assez laid; le mâitre autel est à un premier étage, sous lequel est pratiquée une église à moitié souterraine, dediée a S. Geminien, et où l'on conserve son corps."[55]

This negative outlook towards the Duomo continued in the itineraries of the early part of the nineteenth century. The chatty journal of an upper middle class woman traveler

to Italy, includes a brief mention of Modena which ignores altogether the cathedral.[56] An anonymous traveler, writing in 1817, views the Duomo as an ugly gothic cathedral, judging as worthy of note only the Presentation of Christ in the Temple by Guido Reni.[57] Negative assessments and general disinterest in the cathedral of Modena fade with the nineteenth-century development of the new discipline of art history. It is in this period that the Duomo began to emerge once again as an important architectural monument, and one worthy now of particular study.

THE NEW DISCIPLINE OF ART HISTORY: Style, antecedence and the restoration of monuments, the nineteenth century.

Italy continued to be of great fascination to travelers throughout the nineteenth century as the essential embodiment of culture. Nineteenth-century itineraries to Italy reflect an increasingly positive assessment of the Duomo. The French traveler Paul de Musset speaks enthusiastically about the Este Library in Modena and the two famous antiquarians Muratori and Tiraboschi. Further on he describes the "purity" of the cathedral as evidencing an "extraordinary taste for its time." Still measuring all artistic achievement against a classical ideal, de Musset complements the architects of the Duomo as having a strong sense of the antique.[58]

In the nineteenth century the discipline of art history began in ernest. This new scholarship, founded upon the eighteenth-century idea of the progressive and objective nature of history, was established within a methodology based on scientific empiricism where issues of style and precedence were viewed as markers of a continuum of historical progress.[59]

It is in this period that the Cathedral of Modena began to be studied as an artistic monument in its own right, separated now from its former importance as the physical embodiment of its patron saint. Obsessed with a desire to locate origins and formulate filiations, nineteenth-century writers connected the Duomo with other medieval Italian monuments in an attempt to arrive at the origins of Italian medieval art as evidence of history's inevitable advancement. These etiological investigations combined with developing nationalistic bias to prove the true origins of Italian Romanesque. Differing "schools of thought" quickly developed in this effort to arrive at Italian medieval art's authentic beginnings.

One such group, presuming the dominance of French Gothic, explained other architectural forms, such as Italian Romanesque, as either crude precursors to or inferior Italian copies of the inevitable triumph of the Gothic style. For example Seroux d'Agincourt's History of Art, prepared during the French Revolution but first published in

1823, viewed the art of Italy in the Middle Ages as an art in decline.[60] Tables of monuments and chronological typologies, in which examples of the Duomo are employed, all served as evidence of the degeneration of architecture in medieval Italy. Eschewing a clearly articulated condemnation of Italian Romanesque, the Englishman R. Willis viewed the importance of Italian Romanesque only in its role as precursor to Gothic. Employing similar chronological tables, he was able to arrive at a scientific conclusion as to the origins of Gothic.[61]

Detailed investigations of specific Italian monuments, such as the Cathedral at Modena, were deemed of secondary importance by many of these writers as their primary interest was in employing a pseudo-scientific methodology in order to determine the origins of Italian monuments.[62] Such emphasis on lines of filiation and origins account for the sometimes haphazard and inaccurate descriptions of these monuments. The Englishman Charles Hemans' chronological and stylistic discussion of Italian medieval art incorrectly places the sculpture depicting the Arthurian legend and the story from the Life of S. Geminiano, in reality located on the northern and southern flanks of the cathedral, as appearing on the west facade.[63] The American Charles C. Perkins in his discussion of this pre-Gothic period, has a typically negative point of view toward the Duomo at Modena. His remarks include a mention of the Arthurian

archivolt, incorrectly placing it, as well, on the west facade: "...barbaric like the reliefs of the victories of King Arthur over the Visigoths, sculpted by Wiligelmus, a Lombard or German sculptor of the twelfth century upon the façade of the Cathedral. Their figures...have round staring eyes, pendant limbs, and furrowed draperies, and represent sculpture at its lowest stage of degradation."[64]

Other art historians concerned with the origins of Italian medieval art looked east to Byzantium for the source of the "lombardic" style. Vitet, the first Inspector General of *Les Monuments Historiques*, saw the Italian Romanesque and the Duomo at Modena respectively within this byzantine tradition.[65] Careful not to credit the native lombards with the development of this style, he chooses the art of Byzantium as the prototype. The observations of the Frenchman de Dartein is an example of the lengths to which these writers went in order to prove the etiology of Italian medieval art. In his discussion of the Duomo, not satisfied in seeing the cathedral as either a crude precursor of Gothic or derived by a byzantine model, he sees the style of Modena as a mélange of both Lombard and Tuscan influences, simply because of its geographical location between Lombardy and Tuscany.[66]

In this period of growing nineteenth century nationalism, Italian investigators, in contradistinction to the hegemony of France, regarded the Cathedral of Modena as

part of Italy's patrimony, and interest developed in rediscovering the configuration of the original monument before its post-medieval additions. Debate centered on the question of either byzantine or indigenous lombardic origins. Conte Leopoldo Cicognara, in his multi-volume study, follows the development of Italian sculpture from its origins to the modern period.[67] He continues in the philological tradition the study of the Duomo's inscriptions not only to date the monument but as well to demonstrate that the sculptor Wiligelmo is a native lombard.

Both Cordero di San Quentino and Amico Ricci employ intensely patriotic prose in describing the Duomo. They see the lombardic style as originating in Italy. San Quentino views the Italians as the first to resist the new style of the Gothic. For him, the architecture of such buildings as the Cathedral of Modena returned to Italy the glorious heritage of classical architecture.[68] Amico Ricci, writing in the midst of the Risorgimento, just a few years before Victor Emmanuel was declared King of a newly united Italy, discusses the importance of the Duomo in its association with the commune's struggle for freedom.

> "Le cattedrali di Modena, di Borgo S. Donnino, di Cremona, di Ferrara sono una testimonianza parlante della prevalenza dello stile lombardo sul gotico, quantunque anche le tracce di quest'ultimo vi appariscano. Che se dal lato monumentale debbono cosi considerarsi nel loro senso politico e civile, sono senza meno un espressivo esempio di que'progressi che le nostre città andavano facendo man mano che staccatesi dalla servitù straniera sorgevano a libertà..."[69]

The modenese historian Dondi attempted to place the cathedral of Modena in a more specifically civic context. In one of his discussions, he traces the evolution in the naming of the northern side portal. First called la Porta delle Becharie, due to the proximity of two butcher shops nearby the doorway, it later became known as la Porta della Pescheria when the old Butcher shop was converted to a Fishmarket.[70]

In an effort to glorify their local histories, modenese historians attempted to understand the history of the Duomo within the larger history of the commune. The archivist Borghi, the author of the earliest monographic study of the Cathedral, written anonymously in 1845, was the first to address seriously the building's architectural style.[71] Influenced by the writers d'Agincourt and Wiebeckung, whom he cited and praised extensively, Borghi employed scientific chronologies to situate the style of architecture as Romanesque or *Gotico Antico*. In his discussion of the sculpture, he interpreted the Arthurian archivolt on the Porta della Pescheria as a depiction of the Visogothic invasions. Another local historian, Cavedoni, in one of his many pamphlets concerning the Cathedral of Modena, equated the year 1099, the year in which the Duomo was first begun, with the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders.[72]

The renewed interest in origins and ensuing nationalistic preoccupations, inspired archeological

interests in medieval monuments. Investigators began to question how these monuments, many of which by the nineteenth century had been altered in their appearance by later architectural additions, originally had appeared or had been intended to appear. This new archeological approach, which methodologically had developed out of earlier preoccupations with classifications and dating, centered around a debate whether to reconstruct or restore these medieval monuments.

In France, Viollet-le-Duc's radical restorations of French medieval monuments sought a "unity" of architectural form from which he hoped to return to his concept of the ideals of the classical past.[73] For Viollet-le-Duc, medieval Italian architecture was marked for particular scorn. Having no fixed internal principle relating structure and design, he viewed it as nothing more than a poor imitation of the classical art of Rome. Clearly fixed upon French superiority in all cultural areas, he expanded his denunciation, equating the decadence of Italian art with the inability of the Italians to form a unified state.[74]

Italy continued to be a lure to western travelers in the nineteenth century -- obliged as they were to seek the source of culture on they "Grand Tours" of Europe. With this continued bias for the classical, many travelers continued to view the Duomo at Modena in negative terms.[75] Travelers from England and America, however, were

particularly enthusiastic about Modena's cathedral. One writer, adopting a romantic notion of the graceful decrepitude of the Middle Ages, longs to return Modena to an "unmolested decay," where the "toil, traffic, and idleness" of the modern world will not interfere with the "mixing of weary brick and mortar with the earth's unbuilded dust."[76] Another visitor, George Edmund Street, admires Modena's architecture as being "truthful in its construction."[77] The Romantic visions of Modena's cathedral espoused by these Anglo-American travelers reflected many of the ideas expressed by the English art critic John Ruskin, who saw in the Romanesque architecture of Italy a purity of form and function. In contradistinction to Viollet-le-Duc's theory, Ruskin's respect for medieval monuments precluded any restorative alterations to these buildings, indeed, he viewed such interventions as "total destructions."[78]

The Italian theoretical positions concerning the restorations of medieval monuments grew out of these opposing considerations expressed by Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin. Major polemical arguments ensued surrounding the restorations of facades of northern Italian cathedrals, for example Milan and Bologna. The restoration of the Cathedral of Modena did not include any attempt at a radical restoration of the building, but rather developed more conservatively out of a practical need for basic repair to the material fabric as well as from art historical interest

in determining the origins of lombardic architectural style in Emilia-Romagna.[79] Local commissions for the preservation of monuments, *Le Commissioni Conservatici dei Monumenti e delle opere d'arte per ogni provincia*, established in 1874 and modeled after the French *Monuments Historiques*, held as their main responsibility the maintenance of the Duomo at Modena. The actual work of restoration was carried out by the Chapter of the Cathedral under the supervision of the commission.

In the ensuing years from 1875 to 1887 various conservation projects were instituted at Modena which attempted to address the dual problems of the need for repairs to the fabric of the building and the growing recognition of the historical and artistic importance of the Duomo in an attempt to return the Duomo to its earlier, more pristine condition.[80] The work of isolating the cathedral from its later additions was directed by the civil engineer Carlo Barberi, who had the difficult assignment of responding to the different needs of both the commune and Cathedral chapter, and the regional commission.[81] The election by the Cathedral Chapter for a project whose immediate attention was focused on saving the monument through needed repairs was countered by desires for a more radical restoration of the Duomo expressed by the architect Giovanni Messori Roncaglia, whose work reflected larger Italian interests in the search for evidence of a native

lombardic style.[82] The restoration of the pavement of the crypt (1881-82), demolition of four shops which had been attached to the southern flank of the building(1886), and reduction of the wing of the Archbishop's Palace which was connected to the southern flank of the cathedral (1885) were early attempts at removing the fifteenth and sixteenth century additions from the Duomo.[83]

In 1891 the *L'Ufficio Regionale di Bologna* became responsible for the conservation of monuments on the local level, charged with overseeing the Duomo. It was again administered by the commune's Cathedral chapter. The central ministry gave authority to another modenese, Raffaele Faccioli to formulate new projects for the west facade -- the closing of the 1685 windows which had been added above the lateral doors of the west facade, a reduction of the rose window, and the restoration of the staircase surrounding the central portal which had been removed in 1848.[84]

A proposal by the local historian Sandonnini sought to return the original antique Roman lions to the west facade, which had been replaced by copies in 1848. Sandonnini desired a more faithful adherence to the past and thus opted for limited restorations, whereas Faccioli adopted the more aggressive ideas on restoration which desired a unification of style reminiscent of Viollet-le-Duc's theories.[85] The disparity in thought between Sandonnini and Faccioli over

the treatment of the lions underscores the continuing debate between these different theoretical approaches to the issue of restoration.

While postponing the replacement of the lions on the west facade,[86] projects were begun to isolate the Duomo from the surrounding buildings both on the northern and southern flanks. Beginning in the fourteenth century, the northern facade of the cathedral had become increasingly concealed behind later architectural additions -- in 1338 the campanile was connected to the northern portion of the church by means of a gothic arched passageway,[87] a new sacristy was built between 1474-77, which added a new portico to the northern wall.[88] In 1820 the porch portal which had originally enclosed the Porta della Pescheria was relocated due to the addition of a vestibule erected in front of the doorway to support the mortuary chapel of Ercole III d'Este (d.1803) The porch itself was removed and placed, at this time, on the vestibule's facade.[89]

With the decision in 1897 to separate the Duomo from its later architectural attachments, specifically the northern flank of the cathedral, polemical arguments ensued between the local authorities and the regional office over the proposed demolition of the Baroque chapel of Ercole III.[90] The project proposed by the regional office's architect Giovanni Tosi was accepted finally by Faccioli. The project called for the elimination of chapels on the

northern wall of the Duomo, demolition of large portions of the exterior in order to create a new street separating the sacristy and the Duomo, while leaving in place the two pointed arches connecting the Duomo to the campanile, and reattachment of the porch portal of the Porta della Pescheria to the cathedral wall. The project was so drastic as to require the formation of a committee to investigate the justification of destroying these architectural elements.[91] The result was a compromise, opposing the total isolation of the Cathedral against the preservation of later historical architectural additions. In 1898 it was decided to demolish the portico and reduce the sacristy yet leave in place large portions of northern walls which had originally been marked for demolition. The Cathedral had now come to be seen not as the edifice begun in 1098 but rather as an ongoing product of many centuries of development.

More radical restorations were not entirely abandoned. Between 1900 and 1901 work was completed on the isolation of the southern side of the Duomo with the demolition of the wing of the Archbishop's Palace and of the shops attached to the cathedral. In fact the debate over whether to demolish or preserve later historical architectural additions continued into the twentieth century. Attempts at finding the original configuration of Lanfranco's presbytry prior to the Campionese alterations in the mid-twelfth century were undertaken by Messori-Roncaglia in 1878 and later by Tommaso

Sandonnini in 1912-13. In the summer of 1919 the old pontile was demolished in order to uncover Lanfranco's original design of 1106, for the original translation of S. Geminiano.[92]

These restorations of the Duomo, although essentially local undertakings, were directed by the larger issues within art history -- a quest for true origins and growing nationalism. Viewing the material fabric of the cathedral as "document," these projects of reconstruction and preservation were both influential to art historical discourse and were themselves influenced by belief in the efficacy of recovering the true events of history through documentary examination. This faith in the ability of documents to retrieve the past continued into the present century and can be seen in the on-going nationalistic debates over the true source of Italian Romanesque sculpture, as in the debates over the original configuration of the sculpture of the west facade and the northern doorway, the Porta della Pescheria.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANON: Positivism and Nationalism, the early decades of the twentieth century.

European and American scholars of Medieval art, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, continued to regard France as the fundamental well-spring of culture in the medieval West. Investigators not only from France but from elsewhere concurred with this underlying francophile attitude towards the development of medieval art, the main thrust of much of their arguments being directed towards establishing chronologies which would "prove" the primacy of France over all other national interests. Thus in the beginning, chronology was everything. Consequently, any discussion of the early literature surrounding the study of Italian Romanesque sculpture and the historiography of the Cathedral of Modena, must be viewed in relationship to this underlying presumption as these art historians were inclined to view contemporary Italian examples as derivative of the French model.[93]

The person who came to personify the Francophile attitude in this period was the Frenchman, Emile Mâle. In his publication on the art of the twelfth century, Mâle discusses the appearance of the iconographic theme of the Three Marys at St. Gilles-du-Gard in relationship to medieval liturgical drama.[94] The appearance of the same subject on a capital at the Cathedral of Modena suggests to him an influence of Provencal sculpture in northern Italy.

He expands on this idea, by suggesting that Provence was the training ground for later medieval Italian sculptors such as Antelami. Thus by using a methodology in which chronologies of influence and style were critical, Mâle selects an interesting and fruitful observation concerning the intersection of popular and ecclesiastical cultural forms, such as liturgical drama and art, and extracts from this observation merely a proof of French supremacy. Mâle continued using the intersection of cultural institutions and art to promote the magnitude of French influence. In a discussion of the importance of pilgrimage, Mâle views the major pilgrimages to Italy as furnishing certain iconographic types, as seen in references to Constantine and St. Peter. However, although he acknowledges the indebtedness of French sculpture to such Italian sources he maintains that it was Provencal monuments such as St. Gilles-du-Gard and St. Trôphime in Arles which ultimately influenced Italian art in such sites as Modena and Parma.[95]

The American, Arthur Kingsley Porter, entered this art historical debate by challenging what he considered the non-scientific arguments of Mâle in determining lines of filiation and chronologies. Perhaps best known for his work on northern Italian monuments, Porter, continuing to employ the scientific method first utilized in the eighteenth century, applied a pseudo-scientific approach of generating chronologies by taking known dated monuments and comparing

them stylistically to other undated monuments to arrive at an overall lineage.

Similar in method to Puig i Cadafalch's investigations into Premier Art Roman, Porter was able to establish Italian Romanesque monuments as early as the end of the eleventh century, and thus blunt Mâle's argument for the derivative nature of Italian Romanesque. By his use of contemporary documents, Porter claimed an early (ca.1099) date for the facade sculpture of Modena Cathedral.[96] Mâle takes issue with this thesis, by placing the sculptor Wiligelmo, known by inscription on a facade plaque at Modena, to ca. 1150. This date is significant since it post dates the sculpture of Moissac, whose influence on Wiligelmo at Modena appears self-evident to Mâle.[97] In response, Porter does not go as far as asserting the primacy of Italy in the development of Romanesque sculpture, however, he does relocate its origins, not in southern France, as does Mâle, but rather in Burgundian monuments such as Charlieu and Cluny. Thus for Porter both Languedoc and Italy followed the lead of Burgundy in the development of Romanesque sculpture.[98]

Porter, a true heir to the eighteenth century enlightenment, conferred great authority on Northern Italian architecture and sculpture by demonstrating with seemingly scientific accuracy their inevitable evolutionary progress from Roman antiquity.[99] This focus on documentary evidence prevented Porter from investigating the essential

connections between contemporary culture and particular artistic images. Noting iconographic similarities between the story of Arthur as it appeared at Modena and on the Porta dei Leoni at S. Nicola in Bari, Porter refrained from discussion of the possible cultural and historical connections between the two regions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and rather used his observations to trace the artistic development of the sculptor Wiligelmo from Bari to Modena.[100]

Such particular theories concerning the origins of Italian Romanesque sculpture, no matter how vaguely conceived, thus revolved around the perception of France's undisputed dominance during the Romanesque period. Within this larger assumption, a chronological debate continued, which included the various biases of either Languedoc or Burgundian pre-eminence. It would appear then that the points of connection seen in the literature between France and Italy involve the question of precedence, in which the underlying desire on the part of various authors is to "prove" either Burgundian, Languedoc or Provencal superiority. Their methods of proof are almost exclusively stylistic ones; even documents, employed to create chronologies, are then employed to extend lines of influence through stylistic comparisons.[101]

These stylistic debates with their nationalistic subtext are related to other debates in more recent

scholarship, equally fierce in their assertions, over the appearance of the original configuration of Modena's west facade and the northern side door, the Porta della Pescheria. The Italian scholar Quintavalle, in his many publications, uses archeological and stylistic arguments to prove that the four narrative scenes from Genesis found on the west facade were originally placed in the interior of the church on the pontile.[102] Opposing him in this debate is Roberto Salvini, who maintains the original placement of the four Genesis scenes to be on the west facade.[103] Both men have their supporters.[104] These more recent debates are, in fact, a continuation of the earlier nineteenth-century debates over origins. Based on the same methodology of stylistic development, and material and textual documentation, each investigator attempts to resurrect from the documentary traces of the past its lost authenticity.

Such aspirations, derived from the scientific bias of the eighteenth century, are ultimately unobtainable. For as we have seen, to interpret the medieval histories as facts from which to build accurate accounts of the past, for example the First Crusade, was to misunderstand the nature of the contemporary chronicles. The implications of this potential misreading extends to modern historians' belief in the accuracy of all historical documents.

The frustrating element in all studies of history concerns this unavoidable problem of time, as every attempt

to discover the truth of the past must reside, by necessity, within history itself.[105] Historians in the Middle Ages recognized and commented upon the essential nature of the problem. St. Augustine acknowledges this essential paradox, indirectly, in his discussion of time in the *Confessions.*

> ...the two times, past and future, how can they be, since the past is no more and the future is not yet? On the other hand, if the present were always present and never flowed away into the past, it would not be time at all, but eternity. But if the present is only time because it flows away into the past, how can we say that it is? For it is, only because it will cease to be. Thus we can affirm that time is only in that it tends towards not-being.[106]

Like the fish who can only comprehend the notion of water when it leaps above it, so historians have struggled with the problem of knowing history while confined within its boundaries.

An irreducible element of interpretation thus resides within even the most positivistic history where "facts" are said to be provided apodictically rather than assembled. The recognition of this, a recognition of the transience of all historical perspectives, has led in recent years to a new awareness of the limitations of historical truth.[107] But despite this, modern historians continue to be trained in old methodologies in which "documents," both material and textual in nature, rather than more diverse repositories of cultural information, such as myth and legend, are utilized to seek out and articulate the reality of the historical past. In contradistinction to this view, others have argued

for the interpretation of history not as a science but as a method which is essentially mythic in nature.[108]

The apparent indeterminacy of historical discourse need not be a paralysis to scholarly investigations, for if interpretation is a fundamental element in all discussions of history then recognition of that allows for the possibility to transcend its pronouncement. Once representations of history lose their appearance of inevitability, and abandon their position of being over and above history, then we are free to join with other historians, indeed with twelfth-century historians, to conceive of the events of history as particular and telling narratives of the past.[109]

NOTES

1. The bibliography on Modena is vast. For a complete listing please refer to the chronological bibliography concerned with the Duomo in the volume Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena. For the discussion of Modena's historiography I have divided the material into various categories. Refer to specific notations on the various citations as they are addressed in the narrative of the dissertation. I have used as inspiration for my discussion of the historiography of Modena, specifically in the arrangement of topics, the annotated bibliography by Roberto Cassanelli in the volume, Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romanica (Modena: Edizioni Panini) 1984: 241-255.
Categories:

1. THE ORIGINS OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MODENA CATHEDRAL: Hagiography and the History of the Commune, sixteenth to the seventeenth century.
2. THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE MEDIEVAL MONUMENT: The eighteenth century's negative perceptions of the Cathedral. Travelogues and itineraries.
3. THE NEW DISCIPLINE OF ART HISTORY: Style, antecedence and the restoration of monuments, the nineteenth century.
4. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANON: Positivism and Nationalism, the early decades of the twentieth century.

2. "Probably no other Romanesque edifice of Lombardy can boast of as rich a literature as the cathedral of Modena, either from the point of view of quantity or of average quality...," Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture 4 volumes, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917): III, 2.

3. Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, Il Duomo di Modena, (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1984)

4. Dorothy F. Glass, Italian Romanesque Sculpture. An Annotated Bibliography (Boston: G.K. Hall) 1983.

5. James Ackerman discusses these hidden value judgments. See James S. Ackerman, "Toward a New Social Theory of Art," New Literary History 4/2 (Winter, 1973): 317.
Michel Foucault discusses this idea of the "secret" origin and the "already said": "these pre-existing forms of continuity, all these syntheses that are accepted without question, must remain in suspense. They must not be

rejected definitively of course, but the tranquillity with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about of themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known, and the justifications of which must be scrutinized..." Michel Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language (trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith) (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972): 25.

6. Works: A Contemporary Version. Revised and modernized. W. F. Fleming (trans.) (London: the St. Hubert's Guild, n.d.): X, 61.

7. Eleven separate chronicles have come down to us. For discussion of the chronicles of the First Crusade see: August C. Krey, the First Crusade. The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants (Gloucester, Mass: Petersmith, 1958); Bernard McGinn, "*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders," in The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Essays on Medieval Civilization (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1978): 33-71; Peter Edwards(ed), The First Crusade. the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other Source Materials, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971); Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Crusades Idea and Reality. 1095-1274, Documents of Medieval History no. 4 (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1981); Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100," The English Historical Review 389 (October, 1983): 721-736; -------, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); E.O. Blake, "The Formation of the 'Crusade Idea,'" Journal of Ecclesiastical History 21/1 (January, 1970): 11-31.

8. H. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100) (Paris, 1902)

9. For a detailed discussion of these chronicles see Krey, op.cit. #7.

10. Such uses of the Bible have been noted by many investigators of medieval history. See Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (1952) (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978); -------, Historians in the Middle Ages (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974): 13.

11. See: P. Alphandéry, "Les Citations Bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade," Revue de l'histoire des Religion 99 (1929): 139-157. For further discussion of these issues see in addition: Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End, Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

12. Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos,* Recueil des historiens des croisades, Occidentale [here after designated as RHC, Oc.] (ed) Académie des Inscriptions des Belles-Lettres (1841-1906): IV, 137-40. For a translation of Guibert's account see Frey, The First Crusade. The Accounts of Eye Witnesses and Participants (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958): 36-40.

13. Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC, Oc, 3; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC, Oc, 4. See Riley-Smith, First Crusade, 142.

14. For a discussion of the issues of medieval history, see John O. Ward, "Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the twelfth century," in Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography, Ernst Breisach (ed). Studies in Medieval Culture, XIX (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985) 103-165.

15. For discussion of these and related issues, see Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History, published originally in French as Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: archétypes et répétition (1949). William R. Trask (trans) Bollingen Series XLVII (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). Eliade cites the example of relics as such a mediator between human and mythic experience.
Peter Brown discusses the power of "things" to effect human experience in his discussion of the relics of saints. See Peter Brown, The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981): esp. 78, 88-94.

16. For further discussion of the issue of orality and literacy, see F.H. Baüml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," Speculum 55 (1980): 237-65; Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word (London and New York: Methuen, 1982); and Brian Stock, The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

17. Jack Goody discusses this "structural amnesia," a term first used by John Barnes to describe this collective remembering and forgetting. In this regard he refers specifically to myths: "myths too are forgotten, attributed to other personages, or transformed in their meaning.": Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," Comparative Studies in History and Society 5 (1963): 310.

18. Mircea Eliade compares archaic, oral societies' understandings of sacred events occurring in celestial time, and Christianity's belief in God's intervention into the world as allowing mythic occurrences to transverse the celestial barrier, and to transpire in temporal time. It was at these moments of divine interventions, of what Mircea Eliade calls "archetype acts," that individuals understood profane time and mythic time, linear time and cyclical time, as adjoined. Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return: 35.

19. For a discussion of these issues see: E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea"; and Bernard McGinn, "*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*": 33ff (endnote #7). McGinn quotes from the chronicle of Otto of Friesing, speaking of Jerusalem in connection with the Crusade of 1100: "Ex omnibus mundi partibus ad Hierusalem terrestrum, caelestis typum gerentem...confluerent." Monumenta Germaniae historica, 1912: 316. For english translation see: Otto of Friesing, The Two Cities (trans) Charles C. Mierow, (eds) Austin P. Evans and Charles Knapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

An article by Penelope Mayo on an early twelfth century manuscript, the *Liber Floridus*, Ghent MS 92 discusses this connection between visual and textual interpretations of the First Crusade as they were understood within the larger purview of apocalyptic. Penelope Mayo, "The Crusaders Under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus,*" Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 37 (1973): 30-67. Joshua Prawer discusses the evolution of the equation between heavenly and earthly Jerusalem in the context of both Jewish and Christian interpretation, and points to the historical context of the Crusades as being the final impetus for the Church to embrace this duality. Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages," in Gli Ebrei nell'Alto Medioevo. Settimane di Studio de Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. 26/2 (1980): 739-795. See as well, the monograph by Bianca Kühnel, From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium, Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertundskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 42 Supp. (Rome: Herder, 1987) in which these issues are discussed in terms of visual representations of the physical locus of Jerusalem as symbolizing the Crusaders' apocalyptic expectations.

20. Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana (ed) H. Hagenmeyer, 1913. See for english translation: Edward Peters (ed), The First Crusade. The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other Source Materials (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971). Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos,* RHC, Oc.: 4.

See for english translation: August C. Krey, The First Crusade: 36-40.

21. For a discussion of the new history of the twelfth century and its basis in present time see: Peter Classen, "*Res Gestae*, Universal History, Apocalypse, Visions of the Past and Future," in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (eds) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982): 387-417.

22. Goody, 310.

23. Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return: 35.

24. Many writers concerned with notions of History have commented upon this. See, for example: Eliade, op. cit.: 145ff; Hayden White, Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in nineteenth century Europe, (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

25. The discussion of the objectivity of Enlightenment historians is discussed by Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method Garrett Barden and John Cummings (eds. of trans.) Originally published as Wahrheit und Methode, 1960. (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1975). Gadamer sees the eighteenth century's attempt to objectify truth as allowing genuine truth to escape them.
The German Idealist philosopher, Friedrich von Schilling saw history as an eternal progress toward a perfect state. See Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schilling, Of Human Freedom J. J. Gutmann (trans.) (Chicago, 1936). For discussion of von Schilling philosophy see Adam Margoshes' article on von Schilling in The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York: MacMillan Publishing and the Free Press, 1972) VII, 305-309.
Johann Herder reflects, as well, these dominant Enlightenment notions of the progressive nature of historical development. Using these methods Herder, basing his analysis on the model of the physical sciences, created a gigantic history of the world starting from pre-history in which he attempted to place humanity within its natural setting. See for example: Johann Gottfried Herder, Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man, T. O. Churchill (trans.) 2 volumes, (London, 1803). For a discussion of Herder's ideas concerning history see A. O. Lovejoy, Essays on the History of Ideas, (New York, 1960): 166-82.

26. White, for example, includes in the four major threads of seventeenth-century historical tradition, against which the Enlightenment historiography often developed, the Antiquarian tradition and the Ecclesiastical tradition:

Metahistory: 59.

27. Giovanni Maria Parenti, Vita di San Geminiano, (Modena, Biblioteca Estense) Ms J.7.9. For further discussion of this work, including a partial reproduction of it, see M. Ferretti's article in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, 1984: 578-579.

28. See the antiquarian Dondi for a description of this miracle: Antonio Dondi, Notizie storiche ed artistiche del Duomo di Modena. Raccolte ed ordinate coll'elenco dei codici capitolari in appendice, (Modena, 1896): 233.

29. For further discussion on this issue see: Régis Boyer, "An Attempt to Define the Typology of Medieval Hagiography," in Hagiography and Medieval Literature. A Symposium, (n.p.: Odense University Press, 1981): 27-36.

30. Pietro Bortolotti, Antiche Vite di S. Geminiano, Monumenti di storia patria delle provincie modenesi, serie chronache, 1886. Peter Classen, in his article, sees the historical writings of the twelfth century Urban Annalists as an example of this equation between the history of the Bishopric and the history of the commune.

31. For a discussion of these issues see for example: Boesch Gajano, Sofia (ed), Agiografia Altomedioevale, (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino) 1976, which includes an extensive annotated bibliography; René Aigrain, L'hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire, 1953; Hippolyte Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, V.M. Crawford (trans), (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, Saints and Society: the Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700, 1982; Stephen Wilson (ed), Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History, 1983.

32.See, for example, René Aigrain, L'Hagiographie: Ses sources, ses methodes, son histoire, (1953); Hippolyte Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, Donald Atwater, trans. (1962); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, Saints and Society: the Two Worlds of Western Christendom. 1000-1700, (1982); and Stephen Wilson, ed., Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History, (1963).

33. See: Paolo Golinelli, 'Indiscreta Sanctitias.' Studi sui Raporti tra Culti, Poteri e Società nel Pieno Medioevo. (Rome: Instituto Storico Italiano per Il Medio Evo) 1988.

34. These connections were first noted by B. Ricci, Dell'Origine del cristianesimo e del vescovado di Modena, (Modena, 1921). For a more recent discussion of this issue see Paolo Golinelli, "Cultura e religiosità a Modena e Nonantola nell'alto e pieno Medioevo," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 121-128.

35. Archivio Capitolare, Modena. MS O.I.17.

36. Paolo Golinelli, "Cultura e religiosità a Modena e Nonantola nell'alto e pieno Medioevo," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 121-128.

37. G. Sillingardi, Catalogus omnium Episcoporum Mutinensium quorum nomina magna adhibita diligentia reperiri potuerunt (Mutinae, 1606): 5-13; 72.

38. F. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adiacentium, rebusque ab iis preclare gestis deducta serie ad nostram usque aetatem, opus singulare provinciis XX distinctum, (Venetiis: 1717): III: 76, 116.

39. P. Rossi, Vita di S. Geminiano vescovo e protettore di Modena (Modena: 1736) reprinted 1976: 88ff.

40. Hayden White discusses the theoretical basis for antiquarian historiography, which in turn he sees based on Leibniz's belief in the unity of all human experience.White, Metahistory: 60.

41. See previous discussion on antiquarians.

42. Ludivico Antonio Muratori, Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi 6 volumes (Mediolani, 1738-1742); -------, Rerum Italiarum Scriptores 28 volumes (Mediolani, 1723-1751).

43. G. Tiraboschi, Biblioteca Modenese o Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli Stati del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena raccolte e ordinate, t. VI, Che contiene il supplemento a tomi precedenti e le notizie degli artisti, p.II, Notizie de'pittori, scultori, incisori e architetti natii degli Stati del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena con una appendice de'professori di musica (Modena, 1786): 437-38, 448-54.

44. Ludovico Vedriani, Raccolta de'pittori, scultori et architetti modenesi più celebri, nella quale si leggono l'opere loro instigni e dove l'hanno fatte, curata da vari autori e dedicata alla virtuosa Accademia de'pittori modenesi, (Modena, 1662): 14-21.

45. Vedriani, Raccolta: 14.

46. For example: G. Briani, Dell'Istoria d'Italia, (Venezia, 1623): I, 919-20 reports on the inscription *Dum gemini cancer*, as does C. Dufresne Domini Du Cange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infirmae Latinitatis (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1681) II, 670.

47. There is an extensive bibliography dealing with Italian itineraries. See for example: The bibliography Viaggatori francesi, as well as the publications of the Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia.

48. For a discussion of the earlier, sixteenth century traveler to Italy see: Kenneth R. Bartlett, "The Strangeness of Strangers: English Impression of Italy in the Sixteenth Century," Quaderni d'italianistica 1/1 (1980): 46-63. Unfortunately these early travelers did not mention the Duomo at Modena.

49. Voyage d'Italie (1606). Michel Bideaux (ed). Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia, no. 8 (Geneve: Slatkine, 1981): 53.

50. Sieur de Rogissart (Abbé Havard), Les Delices de l'Italie 4 volumes. (Paris, 1707): VI, 118-123.

51. Sieur de Rogissart: VI, 120-21.

52. Xavier Barral I Altet has written an interesting article dealing with these and other issues of restoration. See: "La fortuna della Cattedrale di Modena nel dibattito archeologico del secolo XIX," in Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa Romanica: 181-185.

53. Charles de Brosses. Lettres familières sur l'Italie. Published after the manuscripts by Yvonne Bezard. 2 volumes. (Paris: Libraire de Paris, 1931): 531-557.

54. Joseph de Lalande.Voyage d'un français en Italie fait dans les années 1765 et 1766. (1769) second edition, corrected and augmented, 1786: II, Chapters 10,11,12, p. 172ff.

55. de Lalande, II, 196.

56. C. A. Hinde (ed) Journal of a Tour made in Italy in the Winter of the Years 1819 and 1820, Biblioteca del Viaggio in Italia, no. 12 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982). The only mention of Modena being a reference to her arriving in the city after dark and leaving the next morning.

57. "La maggior parte delle chiese no meritano partiolare considerazione, se si eccettui S. Vincenzo e S. Agostino. La cattedrale stessa è un cattivo ed oscuro edifizio gotico." "L'unica...cosa che siari degna d'osservazione, è la Presentazione di Cristo al Tempio, quadro di Guido Reni." Itinerario Italiano (Firenze, 1817): 171.

58. M. Paul de Musset, Voyage pittoresque in Italie, partie septentrionale (Paris, 1855): 490.

59. The methodological basis of art history is discussed by James S. Ackerman: "Toward a New Social Theory of Art," 315ff.

60. Seroux d'Agincourt, History of Art by Its Monuments. From its decline in the fourth century to its Restoration in the sixteenth century, (London, 1847): xv.

61. R. Willis, Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially Italy, (Cambridge: J. & J.J. Deighton, 1835).

62. These search for origins can be seen in other investigators of the Cathedral at Modena. The Frenchman de Caumont cites Modena in his larger discussion of the development of Romanesque: "Excursion monumentale en Italie. Extrait d'un rapport verbal fail à la séance administrative du 14 décembre 1840," Bulletin monumentale 7 (1840): 70-162. The Germans Won Wiebeckung and Schnaase both are interested in the Cathedral as evidence of the neo-gothic development in Italy. C. F. von Wiebecking, Theoretischpractische bürgerliche-Baukunde, durch Geschichte und Beschreibung der merkwürdigsten antiken Baudenkmahle und ihrer genauen Abbildungen bereichert von C.F.W, (Munich, 1923-26): II, 210-211. C. Schnaase, Geschichte der bildenden Künste, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter, Die romanische Kunst," (Düsseldorf, 1871): VI, 454-58.

63. Charles I. Hemans, A History of Mediaeval Christianity and the Sacred Art in Italy (AD 900-1350), (Florence, 1867): 282.

64. Charles C. Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture, (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1883): xvii.

65. L. Vitet, Etudes sur l'histoire de l'art, 4 volumes, (1864) nouvelle ed. (Paris, 1875): II, chap. IV "De l'architecture lombarde."

66. F. de Dartein, Etude sur l'architecture lombarde et sur les origines de l'architecture Romano-Byzantine, (Paris, 1865-82).

67. Conte Leopoldo Cicognara, Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al secolo di Canova per serviare di continuazione alle opere di Winckelmann e di D'Argincourt, 7 volumes, 2nd edition, (Prato, 1824): III, 109.

68. "Ma questo nuovo stile [the gothic style] non aveva per basi la ragione, l'armonia, le giuste proporzioni; gli Italiani, che sempre di mal animo vi si erano assoggettati, furono i primi a sbandirlo, ed ebbero il vanto per tal modo di aver ricondotto, per la seconda volta, l'Europa sulle ottime vie dell'arte greca." Giulio Cordero di San Quentino, Dell'italiana architettura durante la Dominazione longobarda, (Brescia, 1829): 10.

69. Marchese Amico Ricci, Storia dell'architettura in Italia dal secolo IV al XVIII (Modena, 1857): I, 601-602.

70. Antonio Dondi, Notizie storiche ed artistiche del Duomo di Modena. Raccolte ed ordinate coll'elenco dei codici capitolari in appendice, (Modena, 1896). Because of its profane subject matter, Dondi claims a later date for the Arthurian archivolt. These conclusions, as was the norm for this period of scholarship, were offered without citation or further evidence.
The present names given to the two side portals are of post-medieval origin. The Porta della Pescheria, first called la Porta delle Becharie, because of the proximity of two butcher shops nearby the doorway, later became known as la Porta della Pescheria when the old butcher shop was converted to a fishmarket. The Porta dei Principi similarly was first named Porta del Battesimo due to the the doorway's proximity to a marble baptismal font, originally located to the right of the door. It was later named la Porta dei Vaccari in the fifteenth century presumably because milk was sold nearby the doorway. It later was known as La Reza de Nostra Dona, as it was located nearby the altar of the Virgin. It was given its present name of the Porta dei Principi to distinguish it from the other doorway on the southern flank of the cathedral, the thirteenth century doorway, the Porta Regia. Dondi, 182-83; and Giampiero Bartoli, Il Duomo di Modena. Conosciamolo insieme (Modena, 1985), IX,X,XII, 126.

71. [C. Borghi], Il Duomo ossia cenni storici e descrittivi della Cattedrale di Modena (Modena, 1845).

72. Pietro Cavedoni, Sventure del Duomo di Modena, 1859. Although it is tempting to see in his comparison of the two events some evidence for twelfth-century contemporary connections between the Crusades and the Cathedral, the value of his remarks lies in its use as an exemplum of the essential relationship between history and the historian.

73. For discussion of Viollet-le-Duc's influence in Italian restorations see, for example: Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, "Restauri architettonici dell'ottocento: una ricerca in corso," Arte Medievale 1 (1983): 255-261; Lucio Santoro "Il contributo italiano alla definizione concettuale e metodologica del restauro," Restauro 43 (1979): 7-76.

74. "Que voyons-nous en Italie pendant cette période comprise entre le XIII° et le XV° siécle? D'abord, une grande indécision; un art ou plutôt des arts qui s'essayent, qui subissent des influences très-diverses; nul principe arrêté, nul rapport entre la structure et la décoration; un amour pour le luxe, pour le paraître, et une éxecution barbare, sentant la décadence: Ce n'est plus la sculpture antique, ce n'est pas comme en France l'imitation franche de la flore locale; c'est un compromis sans style, san caractère, entre les traditions romaines et byzantines et les influences des arts du Nord....Les Italiens du moyen âge, n'ayant pu former un art, pas plus qu'ils n'avient su former une nation, devaient revenir naturellement à l'imitation des arts romains..." Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Entretiens sur l'Architecture (1889) (Paris: A. Morel, 1977): I, 240-41. See also: -------, "De la restoration des anciens edifices en Italie," Encyclopedie d'Architecture (Paris, 1872).

75. See for example the negative remarks by the nineteenth-century writer Perkins, Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture.

76. W.D. Howells, Italian Journeys (Boston: Houghton, Jifflin & Co., 1867): 21.

77. George Edmund Street, Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of Tours in the North of Italy 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1874). Undoubtedly, such remarks make reference to Ruskin's Truth to Materials. For more on the relationship between Ruskin and interest in the restoration of Italian monuments see discussion within the text narrative.

78. "Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us

deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture." The Seven Lamps of Architecture, 242-45, in Robert L. Herbert (ed), The Art Criticism of John Ruskin (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964): 168.

79. For discussion of this and related issues see: Xavier Barral I Altet article. Barral I Altet sees the restorations of Modena Cathedral as disengaged from the restoration controversies of Italy. He attributes this to the relative isolation of Modena, as it was not an essential stop on the Romantics itinerary of Italy.

80. The projects included specifically the necessary repair required on the southern and eastern portions of the cathedral, due to the lack of proper drainage of rain water, the reduction of the northern apsidal, demolition of walls added to the northern and southern sides, and restoration of the turrets on the facade which had been damaged in the 1671 earthquake.
For a discussion of the various conservation measures at Modena see: Christina Acidini Luchinat, Luciano Serchia, Sergio Piconi, "Note sui restauri del Duomo di Modena," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo; Christina Acidini Luchinat, Lucciano Serchia, "Il Duomo di Modena dal 1875 al1937," in Alfonso Rubbiani e la Cultura del Restauro nel Suo Tempo (1880-1915). Atti delle gionate di studio su Alfonso Rubbiani e la cultura del restauro nel suo tempo (1880-1915), Bologna, 12-14 Novembre 1981: 299-310.

81. The original designs by Barberi included a correction of the foundation, closing of the large windows of the main apse which had been enlarged in 1759, freeing the smaller northern apse from the relics chapel, and the removal of the arches connecting the Duomo with the Bishop's Palace on the southern side. Carlo Barberi, Riposta e rettifica dell'ingegnere Carlo Barberi ad alcuni appunti dell'architetto Giovanni Messori-Roncaglia sui restauri progettati per la cattedrale di Modena, (Modena, 1878).

82. Gio. Messori-Roncaglia, Cattedrale di Modena. Sui restauri proposti recentemente, note e appunti (iconografia antica e moderna della Cattedrale), (Modena, 1878); ------, Sui Restauri Duomo di Modena. Note ed appunti dell'architetto. (Modena, 1881).
For further discussion of these issues see Acidini Luchinat, et al, in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, and Alfonso Rubbiani.

83. For a brief and useful summary of these additions see: Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture: III, 17-29.

84. In addition Faccioli added another proposal to open up the monofores of the facade's later seventeenth-century windows. Faccioli documented his plans using engravings published in the seventeenth century by Vedriani. Vedriani, Vita del glorioso S. Geminiano (Modena, 1663). This issue is discussed by Acidini Luchinat in Alfonso Rubbiani.

85. Tomaso Sandonnini, Cronaca dei restauri del duomo di Modena (1897-1925), O. Baracchi Giovanardi (ed) (Modena, 1983). Raffaele Faccioli, Relazione dei lavori compuiti dall'Ufficio Regionale per la conservazione dei Monumenti dell'Emilia Dall'Anno 1898 al 1901. (Bologna, 1901).

86. The Roman lions were finally installed in the central porch portal by Barbanti in the 1934 reconstruction.

87. Cavedoni, 56.

88. See Dondi, 90.

89. See Porter, Lombard Architecture, 28.

90. This issue became important particularly in light of the discovery of thirteenth-century frescoes on the church's northern flank. See L. Calori-Cesis, Sui restauri in corso nella Cattedrale di Modena per la scoperta di un rudere nel Duomo di Modena (Modena, 1897).

91. La Giunta Superiore di Antichità e Belle Arti chose the sculptor Ferrari, the painter Faldi and architect Sacconi. See Faccioli, and Acidini Luchinat, Alfonso Rubbiani.

92. The completion of the newly reconstructed pontile was completed in 1920. Sandonnini, Relazione sulla riconstruzione del pontile nel duomo di Modena, 1915.

93. This question has been addressed by Linda Seidel in her discussion of the facades of Aquitaine. Linda Seidel, Songs of Glory. the Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981): 1-16.

94. Emile Mâle, Religious Art in France. The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography, trans. Mathiel Matthews, ed. Harry Bober (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): 138-39.

95. Emile Mâle, "L'art du moyen âge et les pèlerinages. Les routes d'Italie," Revue de Paris 15 October 1919: 717-54.

96. Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture: vol. 2, 1-48.

97. Emile Mâle, "L'architecture et la sculpture en Lombardie à l'époque romane," Gazette des Beaux Arts 4th ser. 14 (1918): 35-46.

98. Arthur Kingsley Porter, "Les débuts de la sculpture romane," Gazette des Beaux Arts 4th ser. 15 (1919): 47-60.

99. See for example: Arthur Kingsley Porter, Medieval Architecture. Its Origins and Development, 2 volumes (New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1909); -------, "The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture," American Journal of Archaeology, second series, XXII (1918): 399-427.

100. Arthur Kingsley Porter, "Bari, Modena and St. Gilles," Burlington Magazine 43 (July-December 1923): 58-67.

101. Mâle and Porter are only two of the many investigators interested in Modena. Émile Bertaux, adhered to the necessity of finding the true sources of Italian art, even as he saw the origins of Modena's sculpture as obscure, "La Sculpture en Italie de 1070 a 1260," in L'histoire de l'art. Depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours. André Michel (ed) Book I, part II Des débuts de l'art Chrétien à la fin de la période Romane (Paris, 1905): 697.
Camille Enlart viewed the two towers of Modena's cathedral connecting Modena with a Germanic influence.
"L'architecture Romane" in L'histoire de l'art. Depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours. André Michel (ed) Book I, part II Des débuts de l'art Chrétien à la fin de la période Romane (Paris, 1905): 540.
Rivoira desired to see Lombard architecture as another Romanesque school. G.T. Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture. Its Origins, Development and Derivatives G. McN. Rushforth (trans) (London, 1910.
German writers wished to see the origins of Modena's sculpture in the Aquitaine or Aragon. Wackernagel connected Modenese and Apulian sculpture and sees the origins of both in Aquitaine.
M. Wackernagel, Die Plastik des XI, und XII, Jahrhunderts in Apulien, (Leipzig, 1911): 118-20. Hamann traced the work of the sculptor Wiligelmo to Provence. R. Hamann, Deutsche und französische Kunst im Mittlealter Book I, Südfranzösische Protorenaissance (Marburg, 1922). Frankl in his monograph on the Duomo hypothosized a reconstruction of the original cathedral using archeological evidence of the existence of an eleventh century structure. He also traced Wiligelmo to Provence, seeing him at St. Gilles. P. Frankl, "Der Dom in Modena," Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 4 (1927): 39-54.
Wiligelmo was traced to Aragon by the writer Beenken, H. Beenken, "Das romanische Tympanon des städtischen Museums in Salzburg und die lombardische Plastik des XII. Jahrunderts," Belvedere 7 (1925): 97-118.

The Englishman Jackson's discussion of Modena was confined within a typological discussion of Lombard architecture in the light of issues expressed by Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, archeology v. aesthetics. Thomas Graham Jackson, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture (1913) second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).
The American Morey found the source for Modena's sculpture in manuscript illustration. Charles R. Morey, "The Sources of Romanesque Sculpture," Art Bulletin 2 (1919-20): 10-15.

102. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, La cattedrale di Modena: problemi di romanico emiliano, 2 volumes (Modena: Editrice Bassi & Nipoti, 1964-65); -------, "Questioni medievali, 1," La Critica d'Arte n.s.15 (33), fasc. 94 (1968): 66-72; "Questioni medievali, 2," fasc. 96 (1968): 61-78; "Questioni medievali, 3," fasc. 97 (1968): 75-80; -------, "Fabulae mutinenses," La Critica d'Arte, n.s.17 (35), fasc. 109 (1970): 51-56.

103. Roberto Salvini, Il duomo di Modena e il romanico nel modenese, (Modena: Cassa di Risparmio di Modena, 1966); ----, "Il duomo di Lanfranco," Studi Matildici. Atti e Memorie del II Convegno di Studi Matildici. Modena-Reggio Emilia, 1,2,3 maggio 1970, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi, Biblioteca, nuova serie, n. 16 (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1971): 153-75.

104. Eric Fernie employs specific archeological and textual evidence to prove Salvini's assertion of the original placement of the four Genesis reliefs on the west facade. Eric Fernie, "Notes on the Sculpture of Modena Cathedral," Arte Lombarda 14/2 (1969): 88-93. The deductive and archeological reasoning of Guiliana Algeri attempts to prove the correctness of Salvini's and Fernie's arguments. Guiliana Algeri, "Precisazioni sulla collocazione dei rilievi di Wiligelmo a Modena," Argomenti di Storia dell'arte. Quaderno della scuola di perfezionamento in archeologia e Storia dell'arte della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'università di Genova, 1971-79: 9-14. Opposing this position is Ragghianti who agrees with Quintavalle's theory. C.L. Ragghianti, L'arte in Italia. Dal secolo V al secolo XI. Da Roma ai Comuni (Rome, 1968) II, 684-92.

105. Writers on the philosophy of History such as Gadamer, Foucault and White among others have all remarked on this basic irony.

106. St. Augustine, Confessions, XI, 14.

107. Hayden White in his writings views history essentially as narrative. See his book Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century-Europe, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); and "Interpretation in History," New Literary History 4/2 (1973): 281-314 in which he discusses many of the investigators such as Collingwood, Northrop Frye, and Mannheim.

108. Lévi-Strauss asserts that the facts of history can only be coherent if understood collectively as a series, in which they achieve the coherence of myth. Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Savage Mind, (London, 1966).
Hayden White, in his discussion of the interpretative aspects of historical discourse, addresses the decision of Enlightenment historians to exclude these legends and myths from the category of historical evidence. Hayden White, Metahistory: 52.

109. Other writers have discussed the problem of historical indeterminacy. Nietzsche discusses this problem of the ultimate unknowability of historical truth: " Everything is subjective you say; but even this is interpretation. The subject is not something given, it is a superadded invention, stuck on to the tail." The Gay Science, Walter Kaufmann, trans. (Vintage Books, 1974): 168. The art historian Linda Seidel addresses this question in her article on the Arnolfini Portrait; "'Jan Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait': Business as Usual?" Critical Inquiry 16/1 (Autumn 1989): 54-86. Hayden White discusses the problem as well in the concluding chapter of Metahistory.

Chapter Two: The Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi: Messianic Visions. Modena and the Crusades

The images of King Arthur and his knights, as they appear on the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria on the northern side portal of Modena cathedral, have long fascinated students of Italian Romanesque art. Discussions of the doorway have centered around both issues of interpretation and debates over precedence and dating. Throughout these investigations, however, the question of why this apparently secular subject was placed at so important a juncture as an entryway to a cathedral has remained essentially unanswered. Rather than being a curiosity within the history of Romanesque sculpture, the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria in fact played a central role in the comprehensive visual program at Modena, defining an important relationship between secular and religious enterprises in twelfth-century Italy.

The Porta della Pescheria consists of a single doorway, decorated with a rinceau border and the labors of the month on the outer and inner doorposts respectively.[1] [fig. 13] The doorway is surmounted by an archivolt, the inner portion of which depicts a scene from Arthurian legend. The names of all but one of the figures depicted in the tale are clearly inscribed along the top edge of the arch. [fig. 14] In the center of the archivolt is seen a fortified castle surrounded by water, with a drawbridge on either side. At the keystone position, a chivalric shield is shown hanging from the castle wall. [fig. 15] Two figures appear behind

the wall of the castle; on the left is a female figure, Winlogee (Guinevere), clutching her garments, in some obvious distress, and on the right side of the castle is the male figure, Mardoc (Meleagant).[2] The left portion of the archivolt displays three armed knights on horseback approaching the castle, their lances set. Starting from the segment closest to the lintel, there is first an unnamed knight, preceded by Isdernus (Lancelot) and Artus Britani (King Arthur). Burmaldus (Burmaldus), wielding a battle-ax, meets them in combat as he exits from the castle. On the right side of the archivolt are three similarly depicted knights on horseback. Again starting from the spring of the archivolt, they are Che, Gavarium, and Galvaginus (Gawain). A knight on horseback, Carrado (Carrado) confronts them as he exits from the castle.

Most scholars have agreed on the interpretation of the story as a depiction of the tale of Carrado and the Dolorous Tower. Winlogee (Guinevere) while riding with the knight Isdernus (Lancelot) is abducted by Carrado, an evil giant, who brings her to his brother Mardoc. Isdernus raises the alarm and sets off with Arthur and the other knights to rescue Guinevere.[3]

Whereas the Porta della Pescheria is unique in Italian sculpture of the twelfth century, being the only explicit depiction of Arthurian legend known, it cannot be said that Arthur's legend was unfamiliar in Italy. The interest in

the story of Arthur in Italy can be documented both by the images on the Porta della Pescheria[4] and the appearance of Arthur's name in contemporary Italian documents. Indeed, the use of the name Arthur was relatively commonplace in this same period in both the Italian peninsula and in Modena. The name has no earlier classical or medieval precedent and would not have been otherwise known than through Arthur's legend. The earliest evidence of an Italian to be baptized Arthur is an *Artusius*, brother of Count Ugo of Padua, reference to whom is found in an 1114 document.[5] Numerous persons of this name, or variations thereof, appear in surviving twelfth-century documents throughout Italy, but most particularly in the northern and central regions.[6] A document dated 24 June 1125, in the Chapter Archives of Modena Cathedral, names *Artusius* among other persons who presented a castle to the cathedral.[7] Additionally, the archives of the important benedictine monastery of S. Silvestro di Nonantola, located only eight kilometers from Modena, contain an 1139 document which records the name *Artusius*.[8] The name appears again, with the name *Achilles*, both members of the same family, in a Modenese document dated 26 July 1155.[9] Similarly, the name of Arthur appears with names of other heroic figures in a Piedmontese document of 1157 in which an *Artusii* is mentioned with *Rolandi* from the city of *Samaria*, a city mentioned in the Chanson de Roland and the Book of

Ezekiel.[10] This connection of Arthur with assorted heros, both classical and medieval, is critical, as will be seen, for our understanding of the meaning of King Arthur in this period. Extrapolating from the surviving documents, we can assume that already at the very beginning of the twelfth century Arthur and his legend were known in Modena.

Arthurian legends appear, as well, in Italian Romance literature. One of the earliest literary mentions of Arthurian legend in Italy dates from the end of the twelfth century. Godfrey of Viterbo, a cleric in the imperial service of Frederick Barbarossa, writing in his universal history, Pantheon, discusses the Angles and Saxons, retelling the story of Merlin and Uther Pendragon. The story concludes at the point when Arthur is about to be born.[11] Boncompagno da Signa, in his discussion of societies of young men which had formed in various parts of Italy, notes the names of these societies, including "de tabula rotonda societas."[12]

The dating of the Porta della Pescheria at Modena has been variously contested. Aside from certain early debates concerned with the meaning of the Arthurian legend, few investigators have ventured any contextual interpretation of the archivolt beyond attempts to connect it with a specific Arthurian tale.[13] The heated exchanges seen at the end of the nineteenth century between the Italian investigators Fregni and Barberi is a singular example of such

inquiries.[14] Fregni, based on his readings of the Cathedral's inscriptions as Ovidian works, interpreted the archivolt as an antique Roman work. This Barberi vigorously refuted. However, by far the great majority of written material on this doorway is concerned with the issue of dating.

As in many such controversies in the early part of the twentieth century, nationalistic interests exercised a major bias in "proving" either an early or late dating of the doorway. Scholars intent on seeing the preeminence of France in the development of Romanesque sculpture in Italy, and indeed throughout western Europe, inclined towards a later dating of the Porta della Pescheria. Emile Mâle, as we have seen, the most prominent of these Francophiles, attributed the date of ca. 1160 to the doorway, basing his analysis on stylistic differences with the west facade sculpture of Wiligelmo.[15] The main opponent to Mâle, the American scholar, Arthur Kingsley Porter championed Italian Romanesque sculpture. He employed the dated inscription of 1099, located on the west facade of the cathedral, in order to date the Porta della Pescheria as early as the beginning years of the twelfth century.[16] Joining this controversy between Porter and Mâle, other scholars, both art historians and literary investigators, exercised various strategies in dating the doorway. Art historians such as Deschamps and more recently Crichton, Quintavalle and Salvini have

employed stylistic analyses to arrive at dates ranging from 1120-1150.[17]

The majority of literary scholars, through a study of the extant Arthurian texts, have attempted to prove the date of the Porta della Pescheria by investigating which particular Arthurian story is told on the archivolt. All these particular investigations presupposed a written text, initiated outside of Italy, as primary source of Modena's Arthurian legend.[18] In contradistinction to this view, the literary scholar, Roger Sherman Loomis viewed the Arthurian legend at Modena as evidence of an oral tradition which predated the written sources. He thus agreed with Porter for an earlier dating of the Porta della Pescheria, placing it, as Porter had, in the earliest years of the twelfth century.[19] Yet another investigatory strategy, entertained mainly by literary scholars, employed onomastic analyses of the names inscribed above the Arthurian archivolt, as well as knowledge of contemporary costume and military equipment, to date the doorway.[20] At present most scholars, on the basis of philological and archeological data, have accepted the dating of the doorway to between 1120 and 1140.[21]

But the question of dating remains. Dates have ranged from the early twelfth century to ca. 1180, based not only on stylistic, literary and onomastic criteria but on questions of reconstruction as well. In studying the Porta della Pescheria it is necessary to remember the

archeological changes which have occurred to the doorway; in particular, the addition of the 1820 Este monument, necessitating the transfer of the porch portal to the rebuilt, exterior north side of the church. In the subsequent restoration and isolation of the cathedral's northern flank, the porch was replaced in front of the doorway proper. However, doubts arising out of the controversy surrounding this restoration questioned whether medieval as well as nineteenth-century additions had been destroyed during the isolation of the northern flank, thus bringing into question whether the present placement of the porch is entirely accurate.[22] Because of these disruptions in the integrity of the doorway, the discontinuity between the rinceau decoration on the outer jamb and the lintel and archivolt and the difference in size between the width of the frieze and that of the archivolt have led scholars to argue that the present Porta della Pescheria might be a later, medieval reconstruction.

How then are we to resolve this mass of conflicting opinions, for it seems by now impossible to arrive at the "true" date of the Porta della Pescheria. This apparent conundrum should not, however, curtail further discussion. For example, the investigators Rita LeJeune and Jacques Stiennon, in 1963, published the results of their detailed analysis of the inscriptions of the Porta della Pescheria. They date the doorway to between 1120 and 1140 by

concluding that the inscriptions were placed on the archivolt after completion of the sculpture in these decades.[23] Maurice Delbouille employed this proposal to raise the question, which he does not answer, as to whether those who added the inscriptions knew the meaning of the archivolt to be an example of Arthurian legend or added a specifically Arthurian interpretation to the existing chivalric image.[24] This notion of a constructed iconography in which the meaning of the work is intimately connected to the audience's contextual understanding of the images is precisely the type of evidence of motives and meaning needed to go beyond the traditional reliance on written records to date and situate works of art within an particular historical framework.[25] New investigations, then, of the interconnections between art and society might yet shed light on the archeological question. One such key to the programmatic integrity of the Porta della Pescheria is to be found on the opposite, southern flank of the Cathedral, in the Porta dei Principi. Rather than contesting the various datings of the doorway on stylistic, archeological or written documentary evidence, I would argue that specific structural differences between the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi are formal means of both connecting and differentiating the significance of Arthur's story and the Life of S. Geminiano respectively.

The Porta dei Principi is structurally similar to the Porta della Pescheria with some significant differences.[26] Like the northern doorway, it has a rinceau decoration along its outer doorposts, here inhabited with figures depicting the labors of the months and zodiacal signs. [figs. 16-17] The inner doorposts show figures of the Apostles. The lintel, which depicts a portion of the Life of the patron saint of Modena, S. Geminiano, consists of six evenly measured narrative scenes, reading left to right. His story is told both pictorially and by inscriptions placed along the top section of the lintel. [figs. 18-23] The portion of the Life of S. Geminiano shown on the doorway relates the story of the saint's temptation by the Devil.[27] In retribution for S. Geminiano's rejection, the Devil journeys to the Eastern Empire, capturing the Emperor's only daughter. The Emperor subsequently pleads with S. Geminiano to come and rescue her. The saint leaves for the East, rescues the daughter from the Devil, is rewarded with gifts and returns to Modena. The last scene displayed on the lintel presents the burial of S. Geminiano, depicting the various classes of Modenese citizens, both lay and ecclesiastical, as they stand before a representation of the walls of the city. The rinceau decoration of the Porta dei Principi, in contrast to that of the northern portal, the Porta della Pescheria, continues from the doorposts into the archivolt of the portal, visually framing the lintel frieze

within the doorway. The organization of the Porta della Pescheria, by comparison, emphasizes the sculpture on its archivolt. Thus, the elements of these two doorways can be said to complement each other structurally, as one is the lintel of the other's arch.

On a simple, narrative level, both doorways concern the rescue of a lady in distress. In each instance the image of the maiden is centrally placed within the sculptural setting, comprising part of the keystone of the Arthurian archivolt and within the central two segments of the lintel of the Porta dei Principi, where she is, as well, the dominant focus within the scene of her rescue. On this level then, the rescue of Guinevere by Arthur is analogous to the rescue of the eastern princess by S. Geminiano. Among the gifts cited in the Shorter Life of S. Geminiano, was a copy of the Gospels: "Accepit autem pallium et evangelium...."[28] However, unlike the *Vita*, as Porter, and more recently, Christine Verzàr, have noted, the book shown to be given to S. Geminiano on the Porta dei Principi is named as "Codice legis."[29] The Porta dei Principi, on the southern flank of the Cathedral, faced the Bishop's residence thereby comprising the more official, ecclesiastical entryway to the church. The proposal, put forward by Verzàr, that judicial courts were held in front of this doorway, is an intriguing one, and suggests new meaning to the "Codice legis" image. In comparison, the

Porta della Pescheria, faced the communal campanile and surrounding market square, occasioning the laic, Communal entryway to the church. Arthur's rescue of Guinevere and S. Geminiano's rescue of the Emperor's daughter are then the same story directed to two particular audiences, lay and ecclesiastical. Yet interpretation here goes beyond the mere retelling of one story by another.

In order to discover the deeper meanings which join the two visual narratives we must ask these essentially mute works of art to reveal not only their aesthetics but their motives: motives which arose within the wider environment of world events. Such an investigation of the incentives and meaning of this sculpture involves then the related questions of creative imagination and reception; queries which require a redefinition of the conventional understanding of the nature of documentary evidence, extending beyond a reliance on scientific methods of proof and textual evidence.[30] Thus, it is not only the work itself but the contemporary understanding of that work that we must consider.[31] This understanding occurred within a broad cultural context in which various works of art, visual and literary, shared a multiplicity of meanings within that particular period and place. The brief of this dissertation, then, is to investigate this wider environment of world events occurring in the twelfth century, particularly the historical event of the First

Crusade to Jerusalem in its relationship to contemporary creative expressions both visual and textual. Through an inquiry into the shared imagery of the visual narratives of the Arthurian archivolt and the S. Geminiano lintel, the chronicles of the First Crusade, and vernacular Romances -- new forms of literary and visual expression which developed in the twelfth century -- we can begin to give voice to the meanings and motives -- the silent testimony -- of these doorways.

THE NEW VERNACULAR: Orality, Textuality, and New Images of History.

In the twelfth century the great increase in the growth of history writing, as evidenced by the Crusade chronicles, the emergence of the new vernacular literature of Romance, and the appearance of monumental sculpture on church facades arose within a period of significant change in the medieval habits of reading, writing and thinking.[32] Twelfth-century Europe was becoming at this time increasingly a scriptural society, as the older, still predominantly illiterate, oral culture was reordering itself in reference to a system of communication based on the written word. Social functions, both oral and written, remained verbal and particular, but they were now bound by the shared values of texts.[33] Vernacular romances, for example, were not only read but often heard aloud, as song as well as speech; although not necessarily specifically present, the text was assumed as

implied authority.[34] Writing did not superceded oral speech, rather, by the twelfth century, a new balance had been instituted in which the text predominated.[35] In this more referential rather than sensate culture new divisions were created between the producers and the consumers of culture, engendering a transformation in interpretation and discourse.

The existence of the written text allowed for a more critical reception, for, as the "author" of the text was not present at the moment of its reception, the modification of meaning, present in the oral tradition by way of gesture and vocal inflection, was transferred to the audience. Reception and understanding were now conditioned by the expectations of the perceivers, encouraging the creation of a new type of reality, as exemplified by the narratives of Arthurian romance. The fictive time and space of these stories were appreciated by their audience neither as falsehood nor as truth but rather as illustration, analogy, and explication.[36]

The visual account of Arthur's story, as it appeared on the Porta della Pescheria, rather than being merely reflections of texts, embodied, as well, this new reality. Going beyond St Gregory's dictum that pictures should be read, or understood merely as books for the illiterate, these visual narratives, such as the stories of both Arthur and S. Geminiano at Modena, shared with their literary

counterparts, the ability to create a new authenticity for their audience.[37] Franz Baüml has commented upon the set, formulaic aspects of medieval images, arguing that deviation from such strict codified limits can themselves be communicative.[38] Innovations such as these encouraged new understandings of images, based not on likeness but on equivalency to commonly held expectations.[39] Thus the evolution of literacy, both in its textual and pictorial narrative forms, altered the function of creative expression from commenting on reality to reconstituting it.

In the context of a such a society, still deeply influenced by orality, collective memory was constantly evolving in an ongoing mediation with the contemporary cultural heritage.[40] For as we have noted earlier, oral societies, unrestrained by the written word, were free to reconstruct the past in an on-going accord with contemporary experience.[41] At the same time, this increasingly text-bound society of the twelfth century enforced the recognition of a distinction between past and present events.

Within this encounter between literacy and orality which was occurring across Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a greater sense of history, per se, began to emerge. This new history equated present realities with the past, all within a cosmology of universal history.[42] Individuals modeled this new medieval *historia*,

this record of human experience, after the ultimate *historia* of Scriptures.[43] Present events were naturally joined to sacred events, in a great teleological chain.[44] The story of Arthur, as it was transmitted within an oral tradition and elaborated in the writing of the new vernacular, appears reinterpreted in relationship to these contemporary events.

More than one investigator has commented upon the concrete, as opposed to abstract, nature of twelfth-century history writing.[45] Centering around specific occurrences, such as the Norman invasion of Britain and the Crusades, this new form of writing focused upon the personal observations of the authors. The individual, both as author and audience was thus of central importance to the narrative interpretations of past events. New forms of history writing shared with the contemporary literary genre of Romance an increased stress on the evocation of personality as a singular and notable characteristic. The actions of heroic figures such as King Arthur were reflected in this new emphasis on the individual as exemplars and evocations of both the human condition and God's manifest will. The stories of these specific individuals thus became carriers of meaning beyond the contents of the historic events of their narrative and expressed the growing desire in the twelfth century to view human action as a fundamental force in God's overall world plan.[46]

THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE CRUSADE CHRONICLES

The Crusade to recapture Jerusalem, one of the most dominant contemporary circumstances of the twelfth century, was the catalyst for a large body of written accounts, many of them eyewitness accounts of this event, in which the acts of individuals were fundamental in the creation of God's sacred world history.[47] The crusades were a pan-Europe movement in which all classes and locales were represented. Chronicles of the Crusade were concerned with all classes of society. Their vivid realism gives a picture of the medieval world which is unique, as these texts are among the earliest examples of medieval written histories in which specific individuals and groups of individuals were now the active agents of God's sacred history. The new reality engendered in the artistic expression of the twelfth century -- expressed in the fictive use of the time and space of Romance -- was now actualized in the real events described in these twelfth-century chronicles. Stephen Nichols discusses the literature of the preaching of the First Crusade in relationship to romance and epic, in which the assumption of a third person self-representation served to personalize their narratives.[48] This subjectivity, allowing for a multiplicity of voices as narrators expressed themselves as both actors and commentators, continues throughout contemporary accounts of the Crusades.[49]

An important interpretation of the Crusades perceives the Crusade Idea as having developed in a millenaristic age, one obsessed with belief in the imminent end of days.[50] Modern historians have observed the many contemporary connections made between the Apocalypse of the Second Coming and the reconquest of Jerusalem in the First Crusades. This association between contemporary events and eschatological expectations was well established prior to the twelfth century. In his *Homily on Ezekiel*, Gregory the Great had equated an event in the Church's contemporary history, the siege of Rome by the Lombards in the sixth century, to the eschatological prophecy of the siege of Samaria in the book of Ezekiel.[51] The monk, Raoul Glaber, writing in the first half of the eleventh century, spoke of the gatherings of peoples of the world in Jerusalem at the End of Days.[52] Pope Gregory VII evoked a similar apocalyptic tone in his letters of 1074, when he proposed a crusade to the Holy Land in response to the Turkish victories in Asia Minor. Gregory alludes to eschatological beliefs of the Sibylline prophecies in his desire to lead an army of 50,000 to recapture the Holy Sepulchre.[53]

Other contemporary writers accorded eschatological interpretations to their concepts of historical events. Rainer, the Bishop of Florence in the early twelfth century, preached that the Antichrist of the Apocalypse was already born.[54] Modern historians have remarked on the great

similarity between the remarks of Benzo of Alba (d. 1090), a northern Italian supporter of the imperial cause, and Gregory VII's allusions to apocalyptic themes. In the *Panegyrikus*, written ca. 1086, Benzo employs the Sibylline Prophecy of the Last Emperor's journey to Jerusalem in connection with his prophecies regarding Henry IV.[55] The semi-legendary Tafurs of the First Crusade, a ferocious band of poor from the People's Crusade, were described and immortalized in two vernacular epics, the *Conquête de Jerusalem* and the *Chanson d'Antioche*, both original manuscripts dating from the beginning of the twelfth century.[56] The chronicler, Guibert of Nogent in his *Gesta* describes, as well, this unruly group of Crusaders.[57] Modern scholars often have interpreted such contemporary accounts as evidence of the strength of apocalyptic themes during the First Crusade as the Tafurs aspired to establish a millennial kingdom in Jerusalem.[58]

Throughout Pope Urban's speech and correspondence as well as in the many chronicles of the Crusades, Jerusalem is perceived as the goal of this Holy War. Jonathan Riley-Smith notes the prominent leader of the First Crusade, St. Anselm of Canterbury's equation of earthly and heavenly Jerusalem in Anselm's call to the Pope to "open up the gates of both Jerusalems."[59] Jerusalem was understood simultaneously as both a concrete place and the spiritual locus of the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Second Coming.[60] The

city was perceived as the cosmological center of the Universe, the tangible site where God had chosen to intervene in human history. Medieval exegetes interpreted Jerusalem's dual nature anagogically through its teleological connection with the Last Days by recognizing in the physical remains of Christ's Passion, specifically the importance given to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, a concrete realization of heaven on earth.[61] The Holy Sepulchre had long played an important role in the medieval west as the concrete embodiment of Jerusalem, of Christian belief made tangible. As early as the first decade of the eleventh century the equation had been formed between the Holy Sepulchre and the Crusade to free Jerusalem from Islam. When the church of the Holy Sepulchre was reported destroyed by the Caliph Hakim in ca. 1010, Italian coastal cities, especially Pisa, as well as other areas of northern Italy, assembled a fleet to avenge the desecration of Christ's tomb.[62] It was such crusading notions that helped to join the notion of a *loca sancta* with the *civitas sancta* of Jerusalem.

The chroniclers of the First Crusade employed biblical sources to emphasize the prophetic destiny of the crusading armies.[63] More than a mere recounting of Urban's speech which initially had inspired the Crusades, these accounts, written after the successful crusader conquest of Jerusalem, attest to the manner in which these historical events were

interpreted in the twelfth century. As we have seen in our earlier discussion these accounts helped to articulate important contemporary notions concerning the End of Days and in particular the pivotal role which the city of Jerusalem played in this sacred history.[64] Jerusalem thus derived its special significance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from representing both the site of Christ's death and resurrection and the mystical site of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. Pilgrimage, and especially the *iter Hierosolimitanum*, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, grew increasingly popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Encouraged by both the desire to seek remission for their sins and an increased awareness of God's presence in this world, people sought assembly at the sites of sacred relics -- emblems of God's sacred powers, the material evidence of his presence on this earth.[65] The Church, by equating holy war and pilgrimage, was able to set in motion its own specific goals of delivering the Eastern Christian Empire from the infidels and of restoring the unity of the Church under western, papal control. Messianic notions, then, by association with a more respectable, ecclesiastical function, could be held more closely in check by the Church. Thus, apocalyptic views of the Crusades not only were derived from popular enthusiasms, but were used to support the very institutions of medieval Christianity.[66] Belief in the imminence of the End was important for social

continuity, as the Church attempted to interpret current events, such as the Crusades, within the context of scriptural *historia*.[67]

Specific circumstances and events demonstrate a clear connection between Modena's commune and the enterprise of the First Crusade. Countess Matilda, the ardent supporter of the Papacy in the Investiture Controversy, who was to accompany Gregory VII on his proposed mission to the Holy Land, controlled the region of Modena and appears prominently in the history of the building of the new Cathedral.[68] A group of influential churchmen in Matilda's court, in particular, Bonizo of Sutri, John of Mantua and Anselm of Lucca, formulated powerful, written polemics in support of Papal policies concerning Holy War and the Crusades.[69] Bonizo of Sutri praises Matilda as an exemplar of Holy War, and likens her to the biblical heroine Jael who killed Sisara, the oppressor of the Israelites in the Book of Judges.[70] Matilda's direct connection to the Crusades is well documented. The Countess accompanied Urban II in 1096 on his return to Rome following his preaching of the Crusades in Clermont and Piacenza.[71] In 1110 she was instrumental in donating to the Cathedral of Ferrara the relics of St. George which had been brought back from Jerusalem by Robert of Flanders in the First Crusade.[72]

Contemporary evidence of Modenese involvement in the Crusades exists as well. The antiquarian Vedriani in his

history of the city of Modena discusses the formation of Matilda's armies for the First Crusade. Seven thousand soldiers were gathered from Matilda's cities of Parma, Cremona, Modena and Reggio. Names of the captains of the Modenesi soldiers are cited by Vedriani as Fabrio and Riniero Rangone and Filippo Boschetti.[73]

HEROIC IMAGES: Romance Literature and Hagiography.

Certain prophesies concerned with the End of Days which had acquired greater significance in the period of the First Crusade. This period which we have seen was charged with eschatological fervor, expanded the interpretations of the Crusade to include these prophetic writings. The story of Arthur was understood within these larger messianic expectations. The literary genre of Romance, which developed in the twelfth century, is characterized by certain conventions and motifs designed to express the experiences of the individual within a fictive reality of both time and space.[74] Romance, centering upon the individual within the larger realm of society, filters this essential preoccupation of twelfth-century culture through an idealized space and time.[75]

The Christian nature of Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian romances have been noted by many investigators.[76] Although it is true that a number of modern critics have read Chrétien's romances as religious allegory others have not.[77]

Yet the use of clearly religious motifs and allusions as parodic elements of courtly society acknowledges through its negation a mental facility on the part of the contemporary audience to make just such equations between christian symbolism and the new fictive world of romance. The early emergence of religious motifs in Chretien's Arthurian legends -- the apparent religious images exhibited in the story of *Cligès*, ca. 1176, occur only six years after the earliest Arthurian tale of *Erec* -- strengthens the argument that such written sources, developing out of a continuum of older, oral traditions, were understood within the broad culture context of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In *Cligès*, the most obvious use of christological imagery concerns the character of Fenice.[78] The etymological significance of the heroine's name, which is derived from phoenix -- a well-known symbol in the Middle Ages of Christ's resurrection -- sets up a series of deliberate parallels between Fenice's shammed death and deliverance and Christ's passion and resurrection: the scourging and piercing of Fenice's back and palms, the entombment in a newly prepared sepulchre, the guards who fall asleep while guarding her tomb.[79]

Christological references are also seen in the later work, *Lancelot* (ca. 1181). In order to enter the land where Guinevere is captive, Lancelot must cross the perilous

Sword Bridge. The river is described in hellish terms: "At the end of this very difficult bridge they dismount from their steeds and gaze at the wicked-looking stream, which is as swift and raging, as black and turgid, as fierce and terrible as if it were the devil's stream."[80] The wounds Lancelot receives crossing the bridge are equally telling: "...he passes over with great pain and agony, being wounded in the hands, knees, and feet. But even this suffering is sweet to him: for Love, who conducts and leads him on, assuages and relieves his pain."[81] To insure that his audience clearly understands the connection with the crucifixion, Chrétien has Lancelot healed with the "Three Marys Ointment."[82]

Chrétien's last work, *Perceval*, or *Le Conte du Graal*, an unfinished romance composed shortly after *Lancelot* in 1181-91, clearly demonstrates the central importance of Christian themes in the romance genre.[83] In addition, several modern investigators have viewed particular contemporary events, such as the Crusades and the Norman Conquest of England as sources for the Grail Quest.[84]

An important apocalyptic prediction, popular in the twelfth century, was the ancient Sibylline prophecy, which equated a warrior Christ with the Emperor of the Last Days from the book of Revelations.[85] Originating in Greece, the belief in the sibyl's predictions, especially those found in the latter versions of the Pseudo-Methodius Revelations and

the Tiburtine Oracle, was employed by exegetical writers in order to discover the particular events leading to the Last Days.[86] According to the Tiburtine version of the Sibylline prophesy, a mighty emperor who was thought to be dead would shake off his slumber and defeat the infidels, setting up the joyful kingdom of Jerusalem prior to the Second Coming.[87] Pseudo-historical figures such as King Arthur came to be equated with this apocalyptic figure. In the latin accounts, the image of the returning hero, the Last Emperor of the Apocalypse, is connected with the life of Alexander the Great. Speaking of the coming of the Antichrist before the Final Days:

> The years will be shortened like months, the months like weeks, the days like hours, and an hour like a moment. The unclean nations that Alexander, the Indian king, shut up[88] will arise in the North. When the king of the Romans hears of this he will call his army together and vanquish and utterly destroy them. After this he will come to Jerusalem, and having put off the diadem from his head and laid aside the whole imperial garb, he will hand over the empire of the Christians to God the Father and to Jesus Christ his Son. When the Roman empire shall have ceased, then the Antichrist will be openly revealed and will sit in the House of the Lord in Jerusalem. While he is reigning, two very famous men, Elijah and Enoch, will go forth to announce the coming of the Lord.[89]

These apocalyptic prophets, Elijah and Enoch, who appear in the writings of the Sibyl, are seen as well on the west facade of Modena Cathedral where they display the dated inscription of the foundation of the new cathedral.[90]

The Revelations of the Pseudo-Methodius, the earliest surviving witness of the legend of the Last Emperor, has

been thought by many investigators to have influenced the later Latin versions of the Tiburtine Sibyl.[91] An essentially political-religious manifesto, it calls for a war against a mighty enemy: an enemy which some scholars have seen linked with the Muslims. Such *a posteriori* writings, which validate contemporary events by incorporating them into the Church's Universal History, helped to conflate the idea of an Islamic threat with the apocalyptic implications of Gog and Magog in Alexander's story, as the latter were understood within the larger issue of the liberation of Jerusalem.[92]

The Book of Ezekiel in which the prophet describes his vision of the siege of Jerusalem and the war of Gog and Magog were interpreted by the Church in apocalyptic terms.[93] Medieval Christian exegetes expounded on this typological interpretation of Ezekiel. Exegetical writings of this period often employed Old Testament prophecy for eschatological interpretation of current events.[94] One such example, Commentaries on the prophecies of Ezekiel by Bishop Aimone of Auxerre, dated ca. 1000, was first cited by Adolfo Venturi in his multi-volume series on Italian art. In a discussion of the Porta della Pescheria, Venturi noted the similarity between an illuminated miniature from this manuscript, in which the prophetic siege of Jerusalem shows armed knights attacking the fortified city, and the image of King Arthur and his knights shown attacking a fortified

castle on the Porta della Pescheria.[95] Although earlier by over a century to the Porta della Pescheria, the image of Jerusalem in Aimone's commentaries clearly attests to the currency of symbolic connections between Old Testament battles, contemporary conflicts and interrelated apocalyptic notions.

In the twelfth century, the ecclesiastics who chronicled the First Crusades looked to the earlier *historia* of the Old Testament specifically for justification of the Holy War to Jerusalem. In Talmudic lore Gog and Magog preceded the messianic age. Christian exegesis understood the war between the Jews and the pagans in the book of Ezekiel as prophesizing the Crusades, and recognized the inevitability of the Holy War since a battle between Christians and Muslims was essential for the continuation and ultimate conclusion of Sacred History.[96] It is notable that in Chapter 16 of Ezekiel, where God rebukes Jerusalem for her disloyalties, the city is figured as an unfaithful wife. Might not the story of Guinevere's rescue by Arthur on the Porta della Pescheria, in which Guinevere's unfaithfulness to Arthur is unspoken but presumed known, be an allusion to the apocalyptic aspirations of the Crusades as they were prophesied in the Book of Ezekiel?

Another great king, Charlemagne, was, as well, equated with the Last Emperor. The First Crusade chronicler Ekkehard cites the legend of Charlemagne's return from the

dead. Although he sees such portents as bogus, his reporting of them demonstrates the popular belief in the twelfth century which understood the Crusade as an eschatological journey.[97] Just as Charlemagne was believed not to have died but to be only resting in his vault at Aachen, waiting for his earthly reappearance, Arthur was believed to be resting in Aragon for a similar fateful return. Reference specifically to Arthur's fabled return can be attested to in various contemporary writings, for example, William of Malmesbury's *De Rebus Gestis Regum Anglorum*, written ca. 1125: "antiquitas naeniarum adhuc eum venturum fabulatur."[98] The Italian cleric Henricus of Settimello, also refers to the legend of Arthur's return, in his *Elegia de diversitate fortunae et philosophiae consolatione*, written ca. 1193: "Et prius Arturus veniet vetus ille Britannis, quam ferat adversis falsus amicus opem," and "Qui cupit auferre naturam seminat herbam, cuius in Arturi tempore fructus erit."[99]

Heroic stories from the Old Testament were, for contemporary chroniclers of the Crusades, prophetic validations of eschatological expectations connecting the Last Days with the Holy War to Jerusalem. The story of the Battle for Jerusalem in the Book of the Maccabees, for example, was understood as an Old Testament proto-Crusade. In his life of Saint Anselm, Rangerius of Lucca portrays Anselm as inspiring Countess Matilda's army by equating it

with the army of Judas Maccabeus.[100] Two chroniclers, Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent, cite this story in their retelling of Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095.[101] Like the ancient Judas Maccabeas, the crusading knight would liberate the holy city of Jerusalem from the infidels, restore the Holy Sepulchre, as the ancient Jews had restored the Temple, and thus set up the joyful kingdom prior to the Second Coming. With the increase in vernacular culture in the twelfth century, the Maccabean legend was interpreted in chivalric terms and became a popular theme in the expanding volume of secular romances. Although the earlier ecclesiastical writings had focused on the second book of the Maccabees, which was concerned with their martyrdom and cruel fate at the hands of King Antiochus, the later vernacular tales concentrated on I Maccabees with their theme now centering on Judas Maccabeus as hero and brave christian knight.[102]

The new chivalric role that Judas Maccabeas assumes in the twelfth century connects him directly with the story of Arthur, where he is mentioned in both the "Merlin" and "Livre d'Artus" stories of the Vulgate version of the Arthurian Legends.[103] As contemporary writers and artists saw fit to equate the actions of crusader knight and Judas Maccabeas, heroic figures such as Arthur and Judas, who met in the chivalric tales of the new vernacular, exemplified for both ecclesiastical and popular belief the *miles christi*

of the Crusades. The associations of Arthur with Judas Maccabeas and crusaders would have been recognized in twelfth century Italy and would have formed the frame for the telling of Arthur's tale on the Porta della Pescheria at Modena.

Included among the heroic individuals of the First Crusade -- Alexander, Charlemagne, Judas Maccabeas, and Arthur -- was the warrior saint, St. George. One contemporary account of the saint's personal intervention in the Crusade was reported by Turkish deserters after the Battle of Dorylaeum on 1 July 1097. They reported seeing the crusaders being led into battle by two horsemen, later identified as SS George and Demetrius.[104] Another miraculous appearance was seen during the Battle of Antioch on 28 June 1098, when an army of angels, saints, and dead knights wearing white robes and carrying white banners were led by Saint George.[105] Such contemporary instances of the equation between crusading knight and heroic martyr joined the idea of saint and hero in a conscious effort by the contemporary chroniclers to propagandize the Crusade.[106] In the Middle Ages saints were heroes: the quest being the common theme of both Vitae and Romances. Arthur's quest to free Guinevere and the quest of S. Geminiano to free the Emperor's daughter are reinterpreted by concepts of holy war and ecclesiastical notions of pilgrimage and Crusade as both resonate with popular fervor for the Apocalyptic.

HEROIC IMAGES: The Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi.

In the scene on the lintel of the Porta dei Principi at Modena in which S. Geminiano drives out the Devil from the Emperor's daughter, the Devil is shown as an owl. The favorite symbolic meaning of the owl, known through bestiaries, was one in which the owl represented the Devil, particularly in the guise of an infidel, either Jew or Muslim.[107] The period of the First Crusade coincided with an alarming increase in hostility towards the Jewish communities throughout Europe.[108] The forced conversions of Jews and their slaughter were a result, in part, of eschatological expectations which envisioned that at the occupation of Jerusalem prior to the Last Days and the reign of the Last King, Jews would be converted to Christianity. In addition, many Crusaders, in the midst of the general hysteria of such apocalyptic notions, felt no need to distinguish between Jews and Muslims, as they both were seen as enemies of Christ and the Church.[109]

The narratives shown on both doorways involve the crossing of a body of water in order to effect a damsel's rescue: the knights' crossing of a drawbridge on the Porta della Pescheria and S. Geminiano's sailing to Byzantium on the Porta dei Principi. The unusual visual sign for water is the same in both doorways, and becomes a powerful *topos* for seagoing journey, a reminder not only of the patron saint's story but also of the Crusade to Jerusalem and the

pilgrimage to that city's holy shrines. Although the routes of the Crusading Armies in 1096 were essentially over land, the sea lanes played an important role in the First Crusade, specifically in aiding the Christians during the siege of Antioch prior to the capture of Jerusalem.[110] The notion of Crusade long outlasted the brief and stunning victory of the Christians in 1099. Knowledge of specific instances of sea going ventures to the Holy Land, when coupled with the ongoing fervor created by the victory of 1099, would have made allusions to the sea as a compelling symbol of the Crusade to Jerusalem. This particular sign can be seen, as well, on the west facade of Modena in the scene depicting the sleeping Adam, perhaps, again a reference to Jerusalem and to the hill of Golgotha. [fig. 24] Emile Mâle, in his book on twelfth century French art, noted that in the miniaturist lexicon of visual symbols, the hill of Golgotha is shown as a series of superimposed waves.[111] Indeed, the image of Heavenly Jerusalem found in the twelfth-century *Liber Floridus* displays a particular, visual sign in relationship to the city which has clear, formal parallels to the sign for water at Modena.[112] [fig. 25] Such a network of visual meanings evidences a desire in the twelfth century to perceive the Crusades as residing within the larger Sacred History of the Church.

Visual discourse such as this is supported by the interrelated formal structure of the two side portals. A strong left to right, diachronic reading of the narrative is seen on the S. Geminiano lintel. Thus, a clear beginning and end to the story is emphasized by the division of the frieze into consecutive, rectangular images. Here the immediacy of the story is emphasized as it occurs at a specific place within contemporary time. By avoiding a tympanic image, which in terms of its formal qualities, denies a temporal, narrative reading, the Porta dei Principi's lintel accentuates the temporal reality of its story.

In relationship to the Porta dei Principi, the problem of avoiding any atemporal, tympanic image is uniquely solved in the placement of Arthur's story on the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria. Here both diachronic and synchronic readings are elicited, wherein the focal point of the temporal narrative culminates in the keystone image of Guinevere captive in the castle. The archivolt, in contrast to the Porta dei Principi lintel, does not clearly demarcate any framed narrative scenes; instead, the figures rush from both ends toward this single focal point. By combining the linearity of the images as they are read from both sides of the lintel up the arch of the archivolt with a transfixing, atemporal image of Guinevere in the castle, a position which traditionally announces christological images such as the

Agnus Dei, the eschatological implications of celestial Jerusalem are forcefully connected with the present reality of the Crusades. The image of the Agnus Dei does indeed appear at Modena -- placed on the intrados of the S. Geminiano doorway [fig. 26]. Given the added dimension of the Crusades as a current event, such images, with their eschatological overtones, would have surely helped to form notions of the Crusades as residing not only within a larger cosmology, but would have situated Modena itself within this universal framework. Thematic concerns of the two doorways thus are linked as the laic, communal entrance, the Porta della Pescheria, is given a hieratic, atemporal image while the more ecclesiastical entry of the Porta dei Principi is afforded a narrative image of the increasingly important vernacular culture.

The transformation of the images of Arthur and his knights speaks not simply of a political use made by the Church of such images, but of the overwhelming desire of all segments of society at that time to see earthly events within a divine, teleological, universal history. The intersection of literate and oral traditions in which present events were interpreted in relationship to scriptural history, reveals itself at Modena not only in the connections between Arthur's story and the Life of S. Geminiano, but as well in the Old Testament images of the west facade. Such biblical stories were employed both as

typologies of New Testament events and as evidence of the inevitability of the Church's linear construct of Universal History. In the following chapter we will see how the particular choice of Old Testament imagery at Modena is related to the two side portals by investigating the structural and narrative similarities with other visual forms of twelfth-century universal histories. In such a paradigm, the story of Arthur is not a curiosity, an anachronistic secular corner in a religious monument. It is rather the critical image of the delivery of Jerusalem from the evil grasp of the infidel; the singular event that would finally unite the two poles of cosmic history -- the distant biblical past and the ultimate end of days of the Second Coming.

NOTES

1. This particular chapter treats only the archivolt of the door. Please refer to Chapter 3, in which the entire doorway is discussed, including the archivolt, lintel, and doorposts.

2. For the derivations of the names inscribed on the Porta della Pescheria and their connections to modern forms of Arthurian proper names see, for example: Gweneth Hutchings, "Isdernus of the Modena Archivolt," Medium Aevum 1/3 (December 1931): 204-205; and George Lyman Kittredge, A Study of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (1916) (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960): 96, in which the author cites a sixteenth century Latin text from Italy, being a collection of fables and miscellaneous *exempla*. Variations on the name Arthur and Gawain in this text correspond to those on the Modena archivolt.

3. The theme of the abduction of Guinevere appears in numerous guises in Arthurian literature. Two early examples are found in chapter 10 of the Latin prose text (ca. 1150) Vita Gildae by Caradoc of Llancarfan [Acta Sanctorum III: 566-73; (for english translation: Sabine Baring-Gould (trans) The Lives of the Saints [1872] (rev. ed., Ann Arbor: Finch, 1914): I, 440-42)]; and Le Chevalier de la Charrette by Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1177-81) [William W. Kibler (ed. and trans.) Lancelot or, the Knight of the Cart (Le Chevalier de la Charrete), (New York and London: Garland Library, 1981).

Roger Loomis notes in his discussion of the Modena archivolt the iconographic similarity with the early Celtic version, in which Isdernus rushes off to rescue Guinevere without his helmet and armor, carrying only his spear and shield. Isdernus on Modena's archivolt is likewise alone among the knights to be without his hauberk and helmet. See: Roger Sherman Loomis, "The Date, Source and Subject..."

4. Other visual depictions of knights on horseback, for example the Porta dei Leoni at S. Nicola in Bari can also be regarded as evidence of the popularity of the Arthurian legend in Italy. This issue is addressed more fully in Prologue of this dissertation. For discussion of this portal see, for example: Francesco Babudri, "La Porta dei Leoni in S. Nicola di Bari," Archivio storico pugliese 2 (1949): 58-117. Additionally, King Arthur appears on the mosaic floor at Otranto. Chapter 3 of this dissertation discusses this image in connection with the Porta della Pescheria. See, as well Clara Bargellini, "Studies in

Medieval Apulian Floor Mosaics," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1974; Walter Haug, Das Mosaik von Otranto. Darstellung, Deutung, und Bilddokumentation. (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1977); Helmut Birkhan, "Rex Arturus in der Kathedrale von Otranto," Festgabe für Otto Höfler, Philologica Germanica, 3 (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1976): 1-34.

5. See: Pio Rajna. "Gli eroi brettoni nell'onomastica italiana del secolo XII," Romania (1888): 355-56.

6. For evidence of the name Arthur in Northern Italy see for example: Pio Rajna. op. cit. (1888): 161-85, 355-65; and Gian-Domenico Serra, "Le date più antiche della penetrazione in Italia dei nomi di Artù e Tristano" Filologia Romanza 2 (1955): 225-37.

7. Emilio Paolo Vicini (ed) Regesta Chartarum Italiae. Regesto della Chiesa Cattedrale di Modena. (Roma, 1931): Vol. I, no. 16, 295.

8. Girolamo Tiraboschi. Storia dell'Augusta a Badia di S. Silvestro di Nonantola. (Modena, 1795): Vol. II, document CCLIX.4. See, as well, for previous notations of these and other documents: Roger Sherman Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938): 32-33; Edmund G. Gardner, The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature, (London and New York: J.M. Dent / E.P. Dutton, 1930): 1-3; Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages, trans. Dr. Christine Trollope (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1971): 106; Roberto Salvini, Il duomo di Modena e il romanico nel modenese (Modena: Cassa di Risparmio di Modena, 1966): 137-39. The 1139 document from Nonantola, to my knowledge, has not been noted in the either the art historical or onomastic literature.

9. Vicini, Regesta Chartarum Italiae, no. 16: 455.

10. D. Arnoldi, G.C. Faccio, F. Gabotto and G. Rocchi, Le Carte dello Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli, Vol. I, Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, LXX, 1912: n. 160, 6 August 1157: 198-199. The connection between Arthur and other heros were previously noted by Gian-Domenico Serra, op. cit.

11. *Godefridi Vitaerbiensis Pantheon sive Universitatis* libri qui Chronici appellantur XX, pars. xviii, "de Anglis et Saxonibus," in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VII.

12. Noted by Edmund G. Gardner in The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature: 9. Gardner cites his source as Rockinger, "Briefsteller und Fromelbücher des eilften bis vierzehnten Jahrhuderts," in Quellen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte, IX, i (Munich, 1863): 122. For a fuller discussion of examples of Italian Arthurian literary material see Gardner.

13. Marco Cesare Nannini is one of the few investigators to my knowledge to have attempted an iconographic connection between the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi, in which the Porta della Pescheria represents the *ordo militum* and the Porta dei Principi represents the *ordo clericorum.* As we shall see, this connection is an interesting one in light of other contextual readings of the two doorways. "Il rilievo arturiano nel duomo di Modena e della sua interpretazione," Atti e memorie. Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi 8th ser. 2 (1949): 71-76. See also a republished article by Nannini, "Vita, medicina, magia e miracolistica medioevale attraverso l'arte romanica del duomo di Modena (1909) in Atti di Congresso XXI Internazionale di storia della medicina (Siena, 1968): 208-219.

14. Giuseppe Fregni, Sulla porta detta 'della Pescheria' nel duomo di Modena. Studi storici ed artistici (Modena, 1985);
-------, Sulla porta della 'dellaeria' nel duomo di Modena. Appunti dell Avv. G. Fregni in risposta alle osservazioni del signor Ing. Carlo Barberi (Modena, 1986).
Carlo Barberi, Sulla porta detta 'della Pescheria' nel duomo di Modena (Modena: Tipografia del Commercio, 1895).

15. Emile Mâle, "L'architecture et la sculpture en Lombardie à l'époque romane, à propos d'un livre récent," Gazette des Beaux Arts 4th ser. 14 (1918): 35-46. Here Mâle reviews Arthur Kingsley Porter's Lombard Architecture. Mâle dates the Modena sculpture after 1140, seeing the Italian sculpture as derivative of the French model. See also Emile Mâle, Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century (1922), Marthiel Mathiews (trans), Harry Bober (ed) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): chapter on Pilgrimage Roads in Italy.
For Porter's response see: "The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture," American Journal of Archaeology 2nd ser. 22 (1918): 399-427, and "Les débuts de la sculpture romane," Gazette des Beaux Arts 4th ser. 15 (1919): 47-60.

16. Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture; -------, "The Development of Sculpture in Lombardy in the Twelfth Century, American Journal of Archaeology 2nd ser. 19 (1915):

137-57; Arthur Kingsley Porter and Roger Sherman Loomis, "La légende archéologique à la cathédrale de Modène," Gazette des Beaux Arts 5th ser. 18 (1928):109-22.

17. Paul Deschamps, "La légende Arturienne à la cathédrale Modène et l'école lombarde de sculpture romane," Monument Piot 28 (1925-26): 69-94. Deschamps argues for a mid-twelfth century date.
George H. Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954): 13-15. Crichton's dating: 1130-1150.
Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, La cattedrale di Modena: problemi di romanico emiliano 2 vols. (Modena: Editrice Bassi & Nipoti, 1964-65).
Roberto Salvini, Il duomo di Modena: 147. Salvini favors a dating for the Porta della Pescheria of ca. 1130-40.
Quintavalle and Salvini have argued extensively in other publications over the dating and placement of the cathedral's sculpture. Refer to the annotated bibliography by Dorothy Glass for full citations of these authors.

18. Joseph Bédier discusses the Arthurian archivolt in the context of the works of Chrétien de Troyes and dates the doorway as late as 1180. Histoire de la littérature français illustrée (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1923): vol. 1, 18-19.
Leonard Olschki determines the date of the doorway as being between 1150-1184, based on large part on the Norman influence in northern Italy. "La cattedrale di Modena e il suo rilievo arturiano," Archivum Romanicum 19 (1935): 145-82.
J.S.P. Tatlock denies that the Porta della Pescheria is evidence of an Arthurian legend before the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. "The Dates of the Arthurian Saints' Legends," Speculum 14 (1939): 345-65.

19. The Arthurian literary scholar, Roger Sherman Loomis, produced a prodigious amount of material concerning the Porta della Pescheria: -------, "Modena, Bari and Hades," Art Bulletin 6 (1923-24): 71-74; -------, "The Story of the Modena Archivolt and Its Mythological Roots," Romanic Review 15 (1924): 266-84; -------, "Medieval Iconography and the Question off Arthurian Origins," Modern Language Notes 40 (1925): 65-70; -------, "Romance and Epic in the Romanesque Art of Italy, a CRitique of M. Mâle's 'L'Art Religieux du XII siècle,'" Nuovi studi medievali 2 (1925): 105-11; ------, Celtic Myth and the Arthurian Romance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927): 6-11. -------, "The Date, Source, and Subject of the Arthurian Sculpture at Modena," in Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis (Paris: Champion, 1927): 209-28; -------, "By What Route

Did the Romantic Tradition of Arthur Reach the French?" Modern Philology 33 (1936): 225-38; -------, "The Modena Sculpture and Arthurian Romance," Studi medievali n.s.9 (1936): 1-17; Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art (London: Oxford University Press, 1938): 32-36; -------, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Modena Archivolt: A Question of Precedence," Speculum 13 (1938):221-31; --------, "The Arthurian Legend before 1139," Romanic Review 32 (1941): 3-38; --------, "The Oral Diffusion of the Arthurian Legend," in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, A Collaborative History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959): 52-63.

20. Gweneth Hutchings took issue with Loomis's assertions concerning the earlier oral tradition, and traced the story on the archivolt to the Romance of Lancelot and Guinevere, based on onomastic criteria. "Isdernus of the Modena Archivolt;" "Gawain and the Abduction of Guinevere," Medium Aevum 4 (1935): 61-66.
Gordon Hall Gerould argued for a later twelfth-century date based primarily on not only the building history of the church but the style of armor shown on the Arthurian archivolt. "Arthurian Romance and the Date of the Relief at Modena," Speculum 10 (1935): 355-76.
Lefebvre des Noëttes, in an article written with Paul Deschamps, based his mid-twelfth century dating of the archivolt on the style of armor seen in the sculpture. "Deux réponses, à un article de MM. Kingsley Porter et Loomis," Gazette des Beaux Arts, 6th ser. 1 (1929): 96-107.

21. See, for example the article by Rita LeJeune and Jacques Stiennon in which they date the doorway through an detailed archeological and philological investigation of the inscriptions on the archivolt, "La légende arthurienne dans la sculpture de la cathédrale de Modène," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 6 (1963): 281-96.

22. For a further discussion of the restorations see Chapter 1, notes 92-94 and accompanying text.

23. Rita LeJeune and Jacques Stiennon, "La légende arthurienne dans la sculpture de la cathédrale de Modène," 281-96.

24. Maurice Delbouille, "Guenièvre fut-elle la seule épouse du roi Arthur?" Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à M. Pierre Gardette. Travaux de linguistique et de litterature IV/1 (Strassbourg: Centre de Philologie et de litterature romane de l'université, 1966): 123-134.

25. Evidence of contemporary reconstructions of meaning have been noted in other studies of Romanesque sculpture. John Williams, for example, in his discussion of the Puerta della Platerias at Santiago de Compostela, notes a description of the doorway, made approximately forty years after the creation of the sculpture, where the female figure of Eve shown holding a skull in her lap, representing Eve as the mother of death, was interpreted as an adulterous woman whose punishment was to hold the head of her dead husband.: "*Generationes Abrahae:* Reconquest Iconography," Gesta 16 (1977): 3-14.

26. The literature concerned with this doorway is much less extensive than for the Porta della Pescheria. The dating of the doorway is based exclusively on stylistic comparisons, and is dated ca. 1120 - late twelfth century. Most scholars now generally agree on the earlier date. The enclosing porch portal of the doorway is now a reconstruction, due to the extensive damage to this portion of the cathedral caused by bombings during the Second World War. At that time, the fragmentary remains of a twelfth-, early thirteenth-century fresco on the upper portion of this porch portal were also destroyed. A. Barbacci, "Il restauro del duomo di Modena danneggiato dalla guerra," Bolletino d'Arte ser. IV, 38/3 (July - September 1953): 273-276.

27. The story of S. Geminiano is known from two *Vitae*, referred to as the Short and Long lives of the saint, dating from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth century and the mid- eleventh century respectively. The liberation of the emperor's daughter is found in both versions. The story as told on the Porta dei Principi corresponds fairly accurately to the written sources. See a recent article by Paolo Golinelli: "Cultura e religiosità a Modena e Nonantola nell'alto e pieno Medioevo" in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena, (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1984): 121-128.

28. Pietro Bortolotti, Antiche Vite di S. Geminiano, Monumenti di storia patria delle provincie modenesi, serie chronache, 1886, vol. 14, f. 1: 69.

29. Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture: Vol. 3, 41. Porter, however, attributes this difference to the exigencies of the lintel's leonine verse. Christine Verzàr, discussing this doorway in connection with its porch portal suprastructure, queries whether a practical ceremonial function of this doorway might not have been as a site for judicial deliberations. Christine Verzàr Bornstein, "Chapter 1, Sources and Function of Earliest Italian Porch Portals: Matilda of Canossa and Papal Rome," in Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: the Sculpture of

Nicholaus in Context (Parma: University of Parma, 1988); ---, "Matilda of Canossa, Papal Rome and the Earliest Italian Porch Portal," in Romanico Padano, Romanico Europeo (Parma, 1982): 149-50.

30. For further exploration of some issues relevant to this discussion see Karl F. Morrison, History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth Century Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990)

31. See my previous argument concerning constructed iconography: page 6 of this chapter, endnotes 19-21.

32. For further discussion of these issues, and in particular as it relates to theories of reception, see the article by Franz H. Baüml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,"Speculum 55 (1980): 237-65. Michael Camille employs Baüml's arguments in his article on the connections between literary and illiteracy: "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," Art History 8/1 (1985): 26-49. The pioneering work of Walter J. Ong in connection with the more anthropological examinations of oral cultures, also concerns these issues, Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word (London and New York: Methuen, 1982); Brian Stock discusses the persistence of oral tradition in the medieval period and its implications, The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). See, as well, the work of Jack Goody and Ian Watt.

33. Brian Stock, The Implications of Literacy: 14.

34. An article by Ruth Crosby contains a discussion of the oral readings of romances, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," Speculum 11 (1936): 88-110. See, as well, Roger M. Walker's remarks on the subject, "Oral Delivery or Private Reading? A Contribution to the Debate on the Dissemination of Medieval Literature," Forum for Modern Language Studies 7 (1971): 36-42. Franz Baüml employs this argument as well in his article, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy."

35. Brian Stock has developed these ideas on medieval literacy in which he draws a distinction between literacy and textuality. The growth of "textual communities" in which individuals at various levels of literacy are united by a common understanding of texts - texts which need not be in fact present but rather are assumed as authority, The Implications of Literacy; see also -------, "Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization," New

Literary History 16 (1984): 13-29; Jack Goody, Brian Stock, et. al., "Selections from the Symposium on 'Literacy, Reading, and Power,'" The Yale Journal of Criticism 2/1 (Fall 1988).

36. See Baüml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy."

37. A conservative view of images in the Middle Ages is exemplified by William Durandus' (ca. 1220-1296) point of view which sees art as the text for the illiterate. Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Book One, chapter 3. For translation of pertinent passages see Elizabeth Gilmore Hunt (ed) A Documentary History of Art. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance volume 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947): 121-129.
Both Baüml and Camille, among others, discuss the implications of Gregory's remarks. Baüml employs the quote as evidence of the interrelationship between text and image in the development of literacy. Camille sees Gregory's remarks as understanding image as subjugated to text, although he challenges the validity of Gregory's remarks. Baüml cites an additional medieval commentary on images in the thirteenth-century source, Richart de Fornival, who explains the purpose of images as "making that which is depicted seem to be present." Cesare Segre (ed) Li bestaires d'amours di maitre Richart de Fornival e li response du Bestiaire (Milan, 1957): 3-4, as cited in "Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," 259.
I agree with both scholars concerning Gregory's uneasiness concerning images. Such reservations did not ultimately hinder the Church from employing these stories for their own purposes. Meyer Schapiro, for example, has argued for an appreciation of this new power of images in the Romanesque period in light of the social and cultural realities of the twelfth century. See, for example, "The Sculptures of Souillac" in W.R.W. Koehler (ed), Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939): vol. II, 359-87, repr. Meyer Schapiro, Romanesque Art. Selected Papers (New York: George Braziller, 1977): 102-130; and "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," Art Bulletin 21 (1939): 312-374, repr. Meyer Schapiro, Romanesque Art. Selected Papers (New York: George Braziller, 1977): 28-101.

38. Baüml, 260. Michael Camille has recently explored similar issues in his discussion of images. See, for example, The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

39. Ernst Gombrich discusses the occurrence of such equivalencies in art in his discussion of caricature in his book Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation. Bollingen Series XXXV, 5 second edition, revised (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969): 345.

40. Jack Goody discusses this "structural amnesia," a term first used by John Barnes, to describe this collective remembering and forgetting. In this regard he refers specifically to myths: "myths too are forgotten, attributed to other personages, or transformed in their meaning.": Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," Comparative Studies in History and Society 5 (1963): 310.

41. See Ong, Orality and Literacy; and Jack Goody "The Consequences of Literacy."

42. This connection between history and scriptures is discussed by Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

43. For further discussion see: M.D. Chenu, Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century (ed and trans) Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968): 63.

44. For discussion of these issues see, for example: C. A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God. The literary form of the Christian view of history. (London and Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul and University of Toronto Press, 1972); Mircea Eliade, Willard R. Trask (trans), "History Regarded as Theophany" The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History, Bollingen Series, 46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Beryl Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974); Richard Kenneth Emmerson, AntiChrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981).

45. Robert W. Hanning discusses the development of historical writing in terms of the growing importance of the individual in, The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).
John O. Ward discusses this and other aspects of twelfth-century historical writing in connection with the medieval rhetorical tradition, "Some Principles of Historiography in the Twelfth Century," in Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography (ed) Ernst Breisach (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University. Studies

in Medieval Culture XIX, 1985): 103-165.
Stephen G. Nichols also address this aspect of history writing, specifically the preaching of First Crusade, in light of the development of the genre of Romance in the twelfth century, "Fission and Fusion: mediations of Power in Medieval History and Literature," Yale French Studies 70 (1986): 21-41.
Peter Classen sees the development of a theologically based historical writing reinterpreted in the twelfth century increasingly in terms of the individual, "*Res Gestae*, Universal History, Apocalypse. Visions of Past and Future," in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, (eds) Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982): 387-417.

46. This essentially political use of myth is discussed in by the semiologist Roland Barthes. See for example the essay "Myth Today," in a collection of his writings, Mythologies [1957] (trans) Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972): 109-159. The linguist, Jan Mukarovsky also discusses myth in an essentially political light; see "L'art comme fait sémiologique," Actes du huitième Congrès international de philosophie à Prague 1934 (Prague: 1936): 1065-1072. Translated into english as "Art as Semiotic Fact," (trans) I.R. Titunik in Semiotics of Art. Prague School Contributions (eds) Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1984): 3-9.

47. The bibliography for the Crusades, both primary and secondary sources is vast. Some general introductions include, for example: Carl Erdmann, The Origins of the Idea of the Crusade [1935] (trans) Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); P. Rousset, Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade (Neuchâtel, 1945); Steven Runciman, The History of the Crusades 3 vols. [1951] (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); P. Alphandéry, La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade. 2 vols. (Paris, 1954-59);and Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

48. Nichols discusses this phenomena of what he calls "the Presence of the Now" in his article, "Fission and Fusion," 22.

49. Nichols, in his article "Fission and Fusion," points to the preaching of the Third Crusade by Gerald of Wales as an example of subjective voice (see pp. 30-32). However, the same sense of personal narrative is evident as well in the accounts of the First Crusade.

50. Modern scholars have held varying points of view on this issue. P. Alphandéry, E.O. Blake and Norman Cohn give greater credence to the importance of millenaristic ideas in Crusade interpretations. See: P. Alphandéry, "Les Citations Bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade," Revue de l'histoire des Religion 99 (1929): 139-157; E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 21 (1970): 11-31, and Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1961) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970): 61-75. Bernard McGinn and Jonathan Riley-Smith believe that although the Crusades were not preached initially with a clearly apocalyptic message, the idea of the Crusades were taken up and promoted by popular messianic beliefs. See: Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End, Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading.

51. Gregory the Great, Pope Gregory I (590-604). *Homily on Ezekiel 2:6,* Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1844-64): 76, c. 1010. For an english translation and discussion of Gregory I see McGinn, Visions of the End: 60-69.
As noted previously, this connection between apocalypse and contemporary events occurred in a northern Italian document of the twelfth century, in which the names of the heroes Arthur and Roland are related to Ezekiel's Samaria.

52. Glaber, Historiarum sui temporis libri, V (ed) M. Prou, (Paris, 1885): 1, IV, c.6, p.109. See: Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages," in Gli Ebrei Nell'Alto Medioevo. Settimane di Studio de Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. 26/2 (1980): 739-795.

53. *Das Register Gregors VII.*, (ed) E. Caspar Monumenta Germaniae historica Epistolae selectae, (Berlin: 1920-23): II, 31, pp166ff. For discussion of apocalyptic themes in the writings of Gregory see: Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: 94-97; Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading: 8; and H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," Outremer. Studies in the history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer (ed) B.Z. Kedar, H.E.Mayer and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982): 27-40.

54. Noted by Carl Erdmann in "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11 Jahrehundert," Zeitschrift für Kirchergeschichte 51 (1932): 386-94. Erdmann notes that such interpretations were rejected by Pope Paschal II.

55. *Panegyrikus* 1:17, 1:19, 3:2 Monumenta Germaniae historica Scriptores [hereafter referred to MGH SS] XI (Hanover: Hahn, 1926-): 606-7, 623. For discussion of these connections see McGinn, Visions of the End: 90-91, in which a portion of the *Panegyrikus*is translated; Cowdrey, "Crusading Plans," 38-40; Erdmann, The Origin of the Idea of Crusade: 298-99.

56. Conquête de Jerusalem (ed) Hippeau, (Paris, 1868): esp. 65; Chanson d'Antioche (ed) P. Paris, 2 vols., (Paris, 1948): II, esp. 254-5.

57. Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos,* Recueil des historiens des croisades, Occidentale (ed) Académie des Inscriptions des Belles-Lettres (1841-1906): IV, 242.

58. See for example: Lewis Sumberg, "The 'Tafurs' and the First Crusade," Mediaeval Studies 21 (1959): 224-46; Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium: 65-7.

59. Riley-Smith, The First Crusade: 119, quotes here from Anselm of Canterbury, Opera Omnia (ed) F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (1938-61: 3, p. 254.

60. For a discussion of these issues see: E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea;" and Bernard McGinn, "*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*: The Piety of the First Crusaders," The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Essays on Medieval Civilization (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1978): 33-71. McGinn quotes from the chronicle of Otto of Friesing, speaking of Jerusalem in connection with the Crusade of 1100: "Ex omnibus mundi partibus ad Hierusalem terrestrum, caelestis typum gerentem...confluerent." Monumenta Germaniae historica, 1912: 316. For english translation see: Otto of Friesing, The Two Cities (trans) Charles C. Mierow, (eds) Austin P. Evans and Charles Knapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

An article by Penelope Mayo on an early twelfth century manuscript, the *Liber Floridus*, Ghent MS 92 discusses this connection between visual and textual interpretations of the First Crusade as they were understood within the larger purview of apocalyptic. Penelope Mayo, "The Crusaders Under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the *Liber Floridus,*" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 37 (1973): 30-67.

61. Henri de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale: les quatres sens de l'Écriture 4 vols. (Paris, 1959): vol. I, part 2: 624, 640-42. See as well, Riley-Smith The First Crusade: 21, where the author discusses the city of Jerusalem as relic. For more on the issue of relics as physical intermediaries see: Peter Brown, The Cult of the Saints (Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1981).

Joshua Prawer discusses the evolution of the equation between heavenly and earthly Jerusalem in the context of both Jewish and Christian interpretation, and points to the historical context of the Crusades as being the final impetus for the Church to embrace this duality. Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages," 739-795. See as well, the monograph by Bianca Kühnel, From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium, Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertundskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 42 Supp. (Rome: Herder, 1987) in which these issues are discussed in terms of visual representations of the physical locus of Jerusalem as symbolizing the Crusaders' apocalyptic expectations.

62. Organized under the leadership of Pope Sergius IV, this early call for crusade never materialized. The Muslims, having discovered the preparations for such an assault, attacked and wreaked the harbor of Pisa in 1011. For discussion of this issue see: Erdmann, The Origin: 113-117.

63. See: P. Alphandéry, "Les Citations Bibliques..." For further discussion of these issues see in addition: Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: 43-50, 62-64, 70-76, 82-87, 88-93.

64. See endnote #13 of Chapter One and the accompanying commentary.

65. For further discussion of the connections between pilgrimage and crusade see, Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, La Chrétienté et l'idée de la croisade, 2 vols. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1954-59): I, 10-27; Riley-Smith, The First Crusade: 11-12; E.O. Blake, "Formation:" 13.

66. E.O. Blake, "Formation:" 29-30.

67. E.O. Blake, especially, makes this connection between Church and popular sentiment. "Formation."

68. The fundamental text concerning the reconstruction of the cathedral and the dispute which arouse between the commune and the Church is preserved in the illustrated manuscript, Translatio Corporis Sancti Geminiani, (generally referred to in the literature as the Relatio) now in the chapter archives of the Cathedral of Modena (Archivio Capitolare del Duomo di Modena MS O.II.11). The Countess Matilda is repeatedly mentioned in the Relatio, and appears, as well, in the illustrations for the text. For the most recent study on the manuscript see W. Montorsi, Riedificazione del Duomo di Modena e translazione dell'arca

di San Geminiano, Cronaca e miniature della prima età romanica (Modena, 1984).

69. See Riley-Smith (1986): 5; and Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages [1952] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964): 48-49 in which she cites a study on John of Mantua which takes up this issue: B. Bischoff, "Der Canticumkommentar des Johannes von Mantua für die Markgräfin Mathilde" Lebenskrafte in der abendlischen Geistesgeschichte. Dank-und-Erinnerungsgabe an Walter Goetz (ed) W. Stammler (Marburg Lahn, 1948): 24-48.

70. Bonizo, Monumenta Germaniae historica *Libelli*: 1.620. Erdmann discusses this and related issue in Origins: 225, 242. See, as well the article by P. Fournier, "Bonizo of Sutri, Urbain II et la Comtesse Mathilde," Bibliotèque de l'École des Chartres 76 (1915).

71. Erdmann, Origins: 311-12.

72. M.A. Guarini, Compendio historico dell'origine, accrescimento, e prerogative delle chiese, e luoghi pij della città, e diocesi di Ferrara e delle memorie di que' personaggi di pregio, che in esse sonno sepelliti. (Ferrara, 1621): 14. I am most grateful to Christine Verzàr for first bringing this important fact to my attention. See Chapter IV of Portals and Politics in which she cites this example and discusses other issues related to Matilda and the Crusades.

73. Lodovico Vedriani, Historia dell'Antichissima Città di Modena (Modena, 1667): vol. I, 64.

74. Motifs such as the challenge or call, the sight of the beloved, the journey (often through hostile land), and the final battle with the enemy are frequently if not always present in Romance tales. This set, formulaic character of Romance has lead many scholars to view the origins of many such literary works as arising from the older, oral tradition. See for example, R.S. Loomis, "The Oral Diffusion;" William E. Holland, "Formulaic Diction and the Descent of a Middle English Romance," Speculum 48 (1973): 89-109; Stephen J. Knight, "The Oral Transmission of *Sir Launfal*," Medium Aevum 38 (1969): 164-70.
The secondary literature on Romance genre is enormous. Some good general introductions include: Robert Hanning, The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Eugene Vinaver, The Rise of Romance (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); John Stevens, Medieval Romance: Themes and Approaches (London: Hutchinson, 1973); Jean Misrahi, "Symbolism and Allegory in Arthurian Romance," Romance Philology 17 (1964):

555-569; Susan Witting, Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978); Northrop Frye, The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

75. Stephen G. Nichols, "Fission and Fusion," 21-22; Robert Hanning, The Individual.

76. I have focused upon the work of Chrétien de Troyes as his work stands as some of the earliest extant written examples of Arthurian romance. Clark S. Northup and Constance Bullock-Davis both view Arthur in terms of a messianic tradition: Clark S. Northup, " King Arthur, the Christ, and Some Others," Studies in English Philology. A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Kaeber (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929): 309-19, Constance Bullock-Davis, "*Exspectare Arturum*: Arthur and the Messianic Hope," Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 29 (1981): 432-40.
Amelia M. Klenke sees the medieval interpretation of Arthur as a type of Christ: "Some Medieval Concepts of King Arthur," Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly 5 (1958): 191-98, -------, " The *Christus Domini* Concept in Mediaeval Art and Literature," Studies in Philology 56 (1959): 14-25. It is worth noting that Klenke discusses as an example of such christological associations the archivolt at Modena.
Helen C.R. Laurie discusses Chrétien's use of biblical sources, pointing to an essentially christian interpretation of his works: Two Studies in Chrétien de Troyes: From Eric to Cligès; Yvain and the Romantic Tradition, Histoire des Idées et Critique Littéraire, 119 (Geneva: Droz, 1972).
Laura Hibbard Loomis notes the Christian origin of the Round Table and its religious associations: "Arthur's Round Table," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 41 (1926): 771-84.

77. Some scholars have remarked on the christological imagery in Chrétien in light of ironic parody. See, for example, D.D.R. Owen, "Profanity and Its Purpose in Chrétien's *Cligès*," in D.D.R. Owen (ed) Arthurian Romance: Seven Essays (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971): 37-48.

78. See Owen, "Profanity and Its Purpose."

79. "Then they renewed their attack, striking her with thongs upon the back, so that the welts are plainly seen" and "...taking the lead all boiling hot from the fire and pouring it into the palms of her hands." (Vv. 5905-5988, 5989-6050).
"And John who had already performed the task [of creating a sepulchre] say that he has already completed one which is

very fine and cleverly wrought; but when he began the work he had no thought that other than a holy body should be laid in it. 'Now let the empress be laid in it and buried in some sacred place, for she, I think is sanctified." (Vv6051-6162).
"Fenice lies in the sepulchre until the darkness of night came on. But thirty knights mount guard over her....The knights were weary and exhausted...; so they are and drank that night until they fell fast asleep." (Vv 6163-6316). Alexandre Micha (ed) Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, II Cligès Classiques Français du Moyen Age, 84 (Paris, 1970) [Guiot ms, Paris 794]. The english translation is from William W.Comfort (trans) Chrétien de Troyes, Arthurian Romances, London: Dent. Everyman's Library, 1975.

80. Mario Roques, ed. Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes, III, Le Chevalier de la Charrete, Classiques Français du Moyen Age, 86 (Paris: Champion, 1958, repr. 1972. [Guiot ms, Paris 794]: Vv. 3021 - 3194. The english translation is from William W.Comfort (trans) Chrétien de Troyes, Arthurian Romances.

81. Vv. 3021-3194.

82. V. 3374.

83. William Roach, ed. Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal, Textes Littéraires Français, 71 (Geneva: Droz, 1956) [Paris ms. 12576]. For an english translation see: Robert W. Linker (trans) The Story of the Grail [1952] 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960). Many scholars have noted the religious intent of the Grail legend. See for example: Jean Frappier, "Le Graal et la chevalierie," Romania 75 (1954): 165-210, in which he discusses the connections between chivalry and religion in the twelfth century. Myrrha Lot-Borodine sees a purely Christian character to Chrétien's *Parceval*: "*Le Conte du Graal* de Chrétien de Troyes et sa présentation symbolique," Romania 77 (1956): 142-43.

84. The following authors connect the Grail legend specifically with the Crusades: Helen Adolf, *Visio Pacis.* Holy City and the Grail. An Attempt at an Inner History of the Grail Legend, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1960); Francis J. Carmody, "Les sources orientales du *Perceval* de Chrétien de Troyes," Revue de Littérature Comparée 39 (1965): 497-545; Edmund Reiss, "The Birth of the Grail Quest," Innovation in Medieval Literature: Essays to the Memory of Alan Markham (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971): 20-34. D. de Séchelles interprets the Grail legend in light of the Norman Invasion of England: "L'évolution et la transformation du mythe

arthurien dans le thème du Graal," Romania 78 (1957): 182-98.

85. See: The Sibylline Oracles: Books III-V (ed) H. N. Bate (London: Macmillan, 1918). For further discussion on this topic see, for example: W. Bousset, The Antichrist Legend (London: Hutchinson, 1896); Philipp Vielhauer, "Christian Sibyllines, New Testament Apocrypha (ed) Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher (trans) R.M. Wilson, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965); Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium; Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End; Richard Kenneth Emmerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); as well as Jonathan Riley-Smith's The First Crusade: 21, 34, for a discussion of the Sibylline prophecy in terms of the First Crusade.

86. Pseudo-Methodius and Tiburtine Oracle in Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen (ed) Ernst Sackur (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898). See as well: Paul Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek: the Tirburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 10 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967).

87. The lost fourth century original Latin text, was thought to have been rewritten in the late tenth or early eleventh century probably in Northern Italy. For a full discussion of the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl see: Ernst Sakur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen; Paul Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek; --------"Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: the Legend of the Last Roman Emperor," Mediaevalia et Humanistica, n.s. 2 (1971): 47-82; McGinn, Visions: 43-50.

88. The author is here referring to the cities of Gog and Magog in the prophesies of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelations. Alexander's story was given an apocalyptic interpretation beginning in the fifth century, when the excluded tribes described in the legend of Alexander's gate were interpreted as Gog and Magog. For discussion of this issue see: Francis P Magoun, The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929); George Cary, The Medieval Alexander (Cambridge: University Press, 1967); Andrew R. Anderson, Alexander's Gate: Gog and Magog and the Enclosed Nations, Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, no. 5 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1932).

89. The english translation is taken from McGinn, Visions: 49-50. For the original see Sackur, Sibyllinische: 185-86.

90. For discussion of this plaque see the article written by E. Castelnuovo in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il Duomo di Modena, (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1984) and the Prologue of this

dissertation.

91. See, for example, Paul Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works...."

92. For a discussion of this issue see: McGinn, Visions: 71.

93. For more on the medieval interpretations of the Book of Ezekiel see, for example: W. Neuss, Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII Jahrhunderts (Münster, 1912); and Shlomo Eidelberg (ed. and trans.) The Jews and the Crusaders. The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1977).

94. For further discussion of this issue see, for example: Donald Juel, Messianic exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988)

95. Adolfo Venturi, Storia dell'Arte Italiana Vol. III: *L'Arte Romanica* (Milan, 1904): 168. The manuscript to which Venturi refers is Lat. 12302 located in the Bibliotéque Nationale, Paris. I am most indebted to M. le Conservateur, François Avril of the Bibliotéque Nationale for his generous help in identifying for me Venturi's vague manuscript citation. Prof. Neuss' book, op.cit. contains an appendix devoted to this particular manuscript.

96. See Eidelberg, The Jews and the Crusaders.

97. Ekkehard. For an english translation see: Krey: 47.

98. "The age-old fable that he will come again is even now being told." De Rebus Gestis Regum Anglorum. Lib. III, par. 287. For further discussion of the connection between Arthur and messianic expectations see, for example: Clark S. Northup, "King Arthur, the Christ and Some Others," in Studies in English Philology: A Miscellany in Honor of Frederich Klaeber (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929): 309-319; Margaret R. Scherer, About the Round Table (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945): 26; Amelia M. Klenke, "Some Mediaeval Concepts of King Arthur;" --------, "The *Christus Domini* Concept in Mediaeval Art and Literature;" and Constance Bullock-Davies, "*Expectare Arturum*: Arthur and the Messianic Hope," Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 29 (1981): 432-440.

99. "That old Arthur shall come to the Britons before a false friend brings aid in adversity" "He who desires to take away nature sows grass whose fruit shall be in the time of Arthur." *Eligia*, Henrici Septimellensis Elegia sive de

Miseria (ed) A. Marigo (Padua, 1926): 157-8, 537-8. Another allusion to Arthur as "the hope of Briton" in Italian literature is seen in the thirteenth century by the Florentine chronicler Sanzanome. Writing in his *Gesta Florentinorum* (ca. 1230) he speaks of the Sienese desire for victory "tamquam Brittoni qui regim adhuc expectare dicuntur Arturum." [like the Britons who are said still to expect King Arthur.] Sanzanomis Gesta Florentinorum in Hartwig, Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz: I, 33.

100. Rangerius: vv. 3659ff, Monumenta Germaniae historica *Scriptores*: 30.1234. See, as well, Erdmann who cites this example in his discussion of the *miles s. Petri*, Origins: 225.

101. Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana (ed) H. Hagenmeyer, 1913. See for english translation: Edward Peters (ed), The First Crusade. The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other Source Materials (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971): 24. Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC, Oc.: 4. See for english translation: August C. Krey, The First Crusade: 36-40.

102. For a discussion of the connection between the Maccabees and the Crusades see: H. Liebeschütz, "The Crusading Movement in Its Bearing on the Christian Attitude Towards Jewry," The Journal of Jewish Studies 10/3-4 (1959): 97-112. For discussion of the image of the Maccabees in Medieval Art see the unpublished dissertation by Robert Leon McGrath "The Romance of the Maccabees in Mediaeval Art and Literature," Princeton University, 1963. Dr. McGrath confines his discussion of visual portrayals of the Maccabees to essentially manuscript examples. He lists among the chivalric stories of Judas Maccabeas a group of early thirteenth century fragments (Berne MS 113), and two late thirteenth century romances, the Roman de Judas Machabee of Gautier de Belleperche, and La Chevalarie de Judas Macabé (BN Fr. 15104).

103. H.O. Sommer, The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances, 8 volumes, (Washington, D.C.: the Carnegie Institute, 1917), reprinted New York, 1969. Although the Vulgate version is of French origin and dates from ca. 1215, its influence has been noted to be wide-ranging. Jean Frappier cites its influence in Italy as regards the Tavola Ritonda and the compilation of Rusticiano di Pisa: "The Vulgate Cycle," in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages (ed) Roger Sherman Loomis: 295-318. Whereas the dates of these Italian versions are later than the dating of the Arthurian archivolt, we can not dismiss the question of

earlier known oral transmission of these stories. See the earlier discussion of orality in this paper and notes #14-15. For Arthurian Literature in Italy see: Edmund G. Gardner, The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature: 47-63, 152-74.

104. Raymond of Aguilers, 45-6. For discussion of this issue see Riley-Smith, The First Crusade, 105.

105. *Gesta Francorum*: 69; Peter Tudebode: 100, 112. For a full account of the Battle of Antioch see R.C. Smail, Crusading Warfare (1097-1193) (Cambridge, 1956): 172-4.

106. Among the scholars who have discussed the role of the warrior saints in the Crusade, Alison Goddard Elliot has written on the cultural as well as literary connections between heroes of Romance and Hagiography. Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints (Hanover and London: Brown University Press, University Press of New England, 1987): 182-84.

107. For example, Florence McCullough, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance languages and Literatures, no. 33 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962): 147, citing both early Latin versions of Physiologus and the bestiary of Philip de Thaon (ca. 1121): "The owl's preference for darkness signifies the rejection of Christ by the Jews." T.H. White's translation of a Twelfth Century Latin bestiary quotes: "Owls are symbolic of the Jews, who repulse Our Saviour when he comes to redeem them saying: 'We have no King but Caesar.' They value darkness more than light." T.H. White, The Book of Beasts: A Translation of a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century (New York: Dover Publications, 1984): 134.

108. The argument that the massacres of Jews by Crusaders on their journey to Jerusalem was in large part a result of the preaching of the Crusades and its subsequent popular interpretations has been discussed by several scholars. See for example: Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," in Persecution and Toleration, Papers read at the 22nd Summer Meeting and 23rd Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society, ed. W.J. Sheils, 1984;
-------, The First Crusade; Hans Liebeshütz, Journal of Jewish Studies; Robert Chazan, European Jewry and the First Crusade (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987); and Shlomo Eidelberg, The Jews and the Crusades.

The Jewish persecutions are specifically addressed by contemporary Christian chroniclers, such as Ekkehard of

Aura, a monk from Corvey who accompanied the Crusaders in 1101. His Hierosolymita was written for the Abbot of Corvey in 1112. The chronicle of Albert of Aachen, thought to have been a canon of Aachen in the mid-twelfth century, also relates the story of these abuses. See: Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita,* Recueil des historiens des croisades, Oc. 5; and Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC, Oc. 4. For contemporary Jewish accounts of these persecutions see the chronicles of Solomon bar Simson, the chronicles of the Rabbi Eliazar bar Nathan and *The Narratives of the Old Persecutions*, generally known as *The Mainz Anonymous.* These are translated and discussed by Shlomo Eidelberg in his book The Jews and the Crusades.

109. For a thorough investigation of the medieval Christian equation made between Jew and Muslim, including extensive primary and secondary source bibliography, see: Allan Harris Cutler and Helen Elmquist Cutler, The Jew as Ally of the Muslim. Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986): 81-182. Riley-Smith, in Persecution, 64, discusses, as well this equation in terms specifically of the Crusades.

110. Steven Runciman relates the incident of an English fleet carrying Italian pilgrims which supplied siege materials to the Crusaders at Antioch. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades Vol. I: 227.

111. Emile Mâle, L'Art religieux du XIIe siecle en France (Paris: 1928): 20. This observation was brought to my attention in an article by the literary scholar, M. Amelia Klenke, "The Christus Domini Concept in Mediaeval Art and Literature."

112. Folio 52 recto, Liber Floridus, MS 92, University Library of Ghent. See previous reference of Penelope Mayo's discussion of this manuscript in reference to the First Crusade.

Chapter Three: Cosmic History. Mappaemundi and the Sculpture at Modena.

Thus far in our discussion we have noted the means by which the heroic stories of Arthur and San Geminiano, seen on the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi respectively, both reflected upon and produced the expanding historical consciousness of the twelfth century. These narratives, by interpreting heroic tales as exemplars of the crusaders' quest to free Jerusalem from the Infidel, helped to define contemporary history within the Church's larger cosmology. All but a small fraction of the scholarship devoted to the Porta della Pescheria and the Porta dei Principi has been concerned with framing the interpretations of their narratives within twelfth-century culture. No investigator has attempted to address the meaning of either doorway's overall sculptural program, either as an entity unto itself or within a larger church-wide program.[1] The present chapter examines the rich variety of visual imagery that comprises the sculpture of the Porta della Pescheria in relationship to other sculptural decoration on the cathedral, in particular the Old Testament narrative frieze of the west facade, the cathedral's architectural antefixes, generally referred to as the "metopes," and the inhabited vine scrolls surrounding the three early twelfth-century doorways.[2] The themes announced by these images at Modena, when viewed in relationship to similar visual themes and motifs found in the region of Emilia Romagna, can be understood as

communicating the twelfth-century's fascination with and comprehension of events of cosmic history.

The Arthurian archivolt is only one portion of a larger sculptural presentation on the Porta della Pescheria. The doorway's lintel, evenly divided into four figural segments and a central interlace ornamental design, displays images associated with folktale legends. [fig. 14] The second and fourth segments are connected narratively as they tell the fable of the feigned death of the fox.[3] In the first of these two images, two cocks are seen carrying the apparently dead fox upon a litter. The story concludes with the image on the fourth relief where the fox springs to life, attacking the two birds. The remaining two reliefs (the first and third, reading left to right) display the image of a nude figure, whip in hand, astride a sea serpent, and the struggle between two cranes and a serpentine creature.

The inner faces of the doorposts on the Porta della Pescheria depicts one of the earliest extant sculptural examples of the Labors of the Months.[4] Beginning from the base the right doorpost shows the hooded figure of January [IAN] sharpening an ax; February [FEB] warming his hands and feet by the fire; March [MAR] pruning vines; April [APR] standing between two trees holding flowers in his hand; the rider, May [MAI] leading his horse; and the figure June [IUN] sowing. The left inner post, again starting from the base, reveals representations of July [IUL], harvesting;

August [AUG], threshing; September [SEPTB], making wine; October [OCTB], pouring wine into a casket; November [NOVB], sowing; and December [DECB], cutting wood. [figs. 27-29]

The outer surface of the two doorposts is decorated with an inhabited vine decoration -- human cowled figures, manticores with Phrygian caps, lions and eagles, a fox and bird dining out of a narrow-necked vase and a shallow dish; all are seen entwined within the interlaced branches of foliage. [figs. 30-31]

What is the explanation of these seemingly disconnected images on the Porta della Pescheria; and what meaning, if any, do they convey within the overall sculptural program of Modena? One reason for the reluctance of previous scholars to perceive a coherent theme in these images results from a practice, established early on in the study of Romanesque art. The historiography of Romanesque sculpture, with its privileging of French portal facades depended heavily upon underlying notions of structural hierarchy, wherein the architectonic character of sculpture was granted primary importance. Meaning for this form of sculpture, both theological and narrative, was related to its situation within a building's architecture. In this model, images appearing around the edges of the architectural arrangement, and depicting subject matter which seemed at best only tangentially related to religious themes were marginalized

as merely decorative motifs, or, at times, thought to have been the result of a later reuse of earlier materials.[5]

The controversy surrounding the medieval reuse or reconstruction of the Porta della Pescheria is one example of the marginalization of such images. This architectural bias, which remains chiefly unstated in much of the historiography of Romanesque art, has discouraged the development of views which incorporate diverse sculptural forms and themes, such as those at Modena, into a more integrated notion of meaning. Not only is there a dearth of scholarly inquiry into the meaning and purpose of the sculpture of the Porta della Pescheria, but no suggestion has been put forth as to the connections, both structural and thematic, between this doorway and the other various exterior sculpture at Modena. An acknowledgement of the limitations inherent in what I will call the architectonic model yields opportunities to see Arthur's story as residing within the larger sculptural composition at Modena. If our new understanding of the stories of King Arthur and S. Geminiano showed them to be, rather than curiosities, powerful models of the individual actively engaged in the universal history of the Church, then other seemingly unrelated and/or marginalized images at Modena could as well represent a coherent visual expression of the twelfth-century's world view. Such a concert of images would do

much to frame each individual doorway's meaning within the larger cultural field.

MODENA AND THE INHABITED VINE SCROLLS

Inhabited vine scrolls appear at Modena Cathedral on all three contemporary twelfth-century doorways -- the central door of the west facade, the Porta della Pescheria, and the Porta dei Principi.[6] The inhabited vine decoration surrounding the outer portion of the central door of the west facade at Modena contains, in addition to recognizable animals such as birds, lions, and human figures, composite figures of remarkable imagination. [fig. 32] Reading top to bottom on the northern doorpost, a monstrous dog-headed human figure eats the grapes of the vine, a serpent-headed creature with wings and a tail battles a nude human figure, two serpents, tails intertwined, bite each other's head, a monster with two heads clings to the vine, and a nude figure grasps the vine with one hand and his own foot with the other. [figs. 33-34] The southern doorpost has similar varieties of creatures -- a nude figure with hair gathered in a knot atop his head astride a lion, a dragon and lion fighting, a centaur holding its tail, a battle between pygmies and cranes, and a winged dragon. [figs. 35-36] The inhabited vine continues beyond the level of the door in the encircling archivolt above. In the center of the archivolt a two-headed squatting figure displays his genitals in a

frontal pose, his arms entwined within the vines as he grasps his own feet. On either side of him two bearded and clothed figures hold the vine as they press towards the center. Three figures harvesting the vine on the lower right portion of the archivolt are joined by two fantastic animals: the manticore and a goat-like beast. Similar creatures appear on the left half of the archivolt. A siren grasps her tail, a cowled human figure holds a falcon by the neck, a human figure fights a basilisk, a griffin balances on the vine, and human figures cling to its branches. [fig. 37]

The inhabited vine scroll which surrounds the outer doorposts of the Porta dei Principi houses similar fantastic creatures. Here, grotesque figures share the vine with animal fables and scenes of human activity. A centaur shoots a human-faced lion, a nude figure sounds a horn, a bone is pulled from the neck of a fox by a crane, a bird listens to the music of a fiddler, a figure cuts and prunes the vine, a blacksmith works his forge, a beardless and bare-headed man, seated on a three-legged stool, carves a capital with chisel and hammer, and the Lamb of God, holding a cross, tramples beneath him a dragon-like creature with wings, claws and a serpent's tail. [figs. 38-39] The Porta della Pescheria, the central door of the west facade, and the Porta dei Principi, doorways with seemingly diverse

narratives, thus are united by this common element of the inhabited vine.

Images found in the vine scrolls, the fox and the crane and bird and fox dining together -- on the Porta dei Principi and Porta della Pescheria respectively, are seen again in the folktale depicted on the lintel of the Arthurian doorway. The figure of the cock in the fable of the feigned death of the fox was understood in bestiary allegory as a symbol of piety, as it rose early to call the faithful to prayer.[7] The lintel crafts its message of the call to prayer, and to the redemptive and protective embrace of the Church, by its admonition to heed the authority of the Church and its warning of the disastrous consequences of not heeding such a call.

Many of the themes presented by figures which inhabit these vine scrolls echo themes seen on Modena's Arthurian doorway. Scenes of human activity which comprise the Labors of the Months on the doorposts of the Porta della Pescheria are repeated in the vine scroll of the Porta dei Principi and the central door of the west facade. The blacksmith working his forge, the figure pruning the vine, and the artisan carving his capital, images from the Porta dei Principi, set human activity within a larger Christian cosmos. The vine scroll surrounding the central door of the west facade announces, as well, such human activity in the clothed and bearded figures which cling to and harvest vine.

The creatures inhabiting the vine scrolls at Modena arrange themselves into two distinct groupings -- creatures derived from the animal world, and other polymorphic creatures of questionable, but clearly related human characteristics. The Physiologus, a popular text widely distributed in the Middle Ages, described and explained the appearance of such creatures from the animal world, both real and imaginary. Known in several versions, the Physiologus generally is dated to the second century A.D.; many scholars see its origins in Alexandria.[8] Organized into chapters, each of which considers a particular creature, the Physiologus' descriptions derived from both direct observation, legend and myth reinterpreted within a Christian morality. Medieval bestiaries, the inheritors of this book, were similar in structure to the Physiologus. The bestiary added new chapters and new animals, as well as exegetical material, such as Isidore's Etymologies, which enlisted the authority of the Early Church Fathers in order to illuminate the natural world as a series of moral lessons.[9]

Various examples of the animal creatures inhabiting the vine scrolls at Modena can be found in such medieval treatises on the natural world. For example, the manticore wearing a Phrygian cap, seen on the Porta della Pescheria and the central door of the West Facade, was frequently seen in medieval bestiaries. A vicious creature, thought to

be born in India, the Manticore ate human flesh. It was usually depicted, as at Modena, wearing a Phrygian cap, a sign for the East, which had come to symbolize the infidel, Jew and Muslim.[10] The griffin appearing on the central door's vine scroll was understood to live in the Indian desert, although earlier accounts locate its origins in Ethiopia. A malevolent creature, it was the enemy of the horse and able to tear men to pieces.[11] Such creatures evoke a strikingly malevolent picture of an alien world beyond the borders of the medieval West.[12]

Besides the dragons and serpents, with their well-known connections with the Devil, many of these creatures at Modena were extremely inimicable to humans. The basilisk, seen fighting a human in the vine scroll of the central door, was known as the King of Serpents, whose bite made humans hydrophobic. He was able to kill with a glance.[13] The twelfth-century bestiary, studied by White, describes this creature as so fearsome that when it was seen, humans ran for their lives as it could kill them merely by its smell.[14] The siren, a creature half woman from navel to head, with the tail of a fish, seen on Modena's central doorway vine scroll, was a common image not only in medieval art, but in the classical world as well.[15] Known for seducing sailors with the beauty of their songs only to attack them and tear their flesh, sirens were often moralized as the symbol of worldly pleasures which caused

men to sin.[16] As a warning against sinful behavior, this moral lesson of the Siren echoes fears current in the twelfth century -- fears associated with the crusaders to the Holy Land, their personal fears of the long voyage and society's concerns with the disruptive effects to the cultural norm that their absence might provoke.[17] Another lustful animal, the Centaur, appears in the vine of the central door. Analogous to the Siren, half horse and half man, it possessed a wild and vicious nature.[18]

The peopling of vine scrolls is a motif which can be traced back to the antique world of Greece and Rome.[19] André Grabar has carefully reconstructed the permutation of meaning of the vine scroll from a pagan to a christian context in his analysis of the Damascus Gate mosaic.[20] Pointing to the equation between Orpheus and Christ, Grabar suggests that the inhabited vine scroll became not only the symbol of the vineyard for the Lord, but that in its association with the cosmological images of Earth, Sea and Sky, the inhabited vine was meant to represent the universal power of the Church. It was this connection with the classical past that the Roman Church exploited in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. The Papal court wishing to equate its power, then seriously challenged by the Emperor, with the former glories of Constantine's Rome, employed images associated with the Early Christian Church.[21] Reviving the antique forms of the

paleochristian past, the major building programs occurring in Rome in this period employed the inhabited vine scroll to announce the power and authority of the Church in a specifically cosmological guise.[22]

The political climate within which the motif of the vine scroll was reemployed suggests a shift in the reading of this motif, in which new interpretations of the motif were generated through an ongoing change of meaning from one related image to the next. For as it was essential to the understanding of the christian idea of the vine motif to recall the original pagan reading, the twelfth-century's use of the motif similarly accumulated unto itself all earlier meanings. As it was drained of its original context while keeping intact its referent, the Church employed the vine motif as a sign of its authority through this visual evocation of the glorified imperial past. Similar to the multivalent meanings associated with King Arthur these reinterpretations of the vine scroll motif are essentially open-ended in nature as any specific context is ultimately unable to halt the shift in meaning, context itself being without a fixed end point.[23]

A set of images associated at Modena with the vine scroll similarly announced through this network of associations the authority of the twelfth-century Church. Directly below the inhabited vine on either side of the west facade's central door are two dancing atlante figures who

carry in their upstretched arms the weight of the vines above. [figs. 34,35] Atlante figures appear again at Modena on the west facade --in the scene of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel (the third of four relief plaques of the Genesis cycle on the facade), where an atlante figure is seen holding aloft the image of Christ seated within a mandorla; and on two capitals framing the central doorway. [figs. 40-41] Such atlante figures often appeared in conjunction with leonine verses in which the figures, speaking in the first person, bemoaned their fate.[24] The inscription beside the atlante figure of the Genesis cycle of the west facade noted above -- HIC P[RE]MIT HIC PLORAT GEMIT HIC NIMIS ISTE LABORAT[25] -- can be read as referring both to the labor of the atlante and of Cain.

Atlante figures with similar inscriptions appear holding aloft the inhabited vine scroll of the Porta della Pescheria. [figs. 30,31] An inscription above the atlante figure on the left doorpost reads: [...]S MICHI FERTE IUVANTES. This inscription was first published by Colfi, who suggested the leonine verse: [HAC VOS INTRANTES VOCE]S MICHI FERTE IUVANTES.[26] A second inscription fragment appears, as well, below the left doorpost figure reading: O QUA[...]RITE QUE. A third inscription connected to the atlante figures of the Porta della Pescheria appears in a stone fragment seen on the soffit above the arch directly to the right of the Porta della Pescheria. It reads: [...]ERTE

IUVANTES.[27] Campana recently has interpreted the inscription under the left doorpost figure -- O QUA[...]RITE QUE as reading O QUA[M GRANDE FERO PONDUS SUCCRRITE QUE[SO][28]

Atlante figures with similar inscriptions appear on other northern Italian Romanesque monuments: on the northern right portal at Piacenza Cathedral; a doorpost fragment at the Duomo at Cremona; and framing the central doorway of S. Silvestro at Nonantola.[29] [figs. 42-44] Christine Verzår traces these caryatid figures from Roman imperial imagery and relates them to the porch portal structures of Northern Italy, viewing them as assertions of papal authority: visual equivalents of the inhabited vine scroll and of the Church's ultimate power.[30] In addition to announcing the authority of the Church, as suggested by the imperial designations seen by Verzår, the atlante figures derived their meaning from a particular pictorial history in which they personify the Earth -- Terra. Twelfth-century examples of this particular use of the atlante image appear in manuscript illustration, for example the illustration to Isaiah 66:1 in the Bible of Pommersfelden in which God is seen seated upon the figure Terra, and the eleventh-century ivory cover of the Codex Aureus Epternacensis.[31]

In addition to such manuscript examples, the atlante in the guise of Terra appears in the region of Emilia Romagna

during the period of the twelfth century, on the floor mosaic of S. Savino in Piacenza. [fig. 45] Considerable fragments of the mosaic pavement were discovered in the 1903 restoration of the church. Presently covering the crypt and choir area, they have been dated to ca. 1107, the date of the building's consecration.[32] In the center of the choir mosaic is a seated bearded figure who holds in his right and left hands the images of sun and moon respectively. This central figure is surrounded by two circles, in between which are seen four pairs of opposing animals -- dogs, winged griffins, and horses. This outer disc is held aloft by an atlante figure. That the atlante figure at S. Savino does indeed represent Terra is confirmed by the image of Annus holding sun and moon, the central figure in another northern Italian mosaic floor at the Cathedral of Aosta.[33] William Tronzo has noted the similarity of the central figure at Piacenza to the figure of Annus at Aosta, although he observed that at Aosta, Annus is presented more traditionally surrounded by the zodiacal signs and labors of the month. His conclusion therefore sees the central figure at Piacenza as a conflation of Fortuna, Sapientia and Annus. However, Piacenza's central figure can be more closely associated with Annus, and the atlante figure with Terra, and thus with a more terrestrial interpretation, as images of the zodiacal signs and labors of the month do indeed

appear at S. Savino -- in the other large mosaic fragment of the crypt.[34]

MODENA AND NORTHERN ITALIAN FLOOR MOSAICS

Other motifs found at San Savino, in addition to the atlante figures and the labors of the months, are found again at Modena. The siren, centaur and griffin, creatures found in the inhabited vine scroll, appear in both places. Knights, too, make their appearance on the mosaic floor. Mounted knights, armed with lances, are seen in battle, and knights armed with spears and shields battle on foot. In fact, the large number of mosaic floors which are to be found in northern Italy share with Modena many motifs and themes.[35] Typological connections between christian heroes and contemporary crusaders, seen at Modena in the equation between King Arthur and S. Geminiano, appear again in the floor mosaics of the Benedictine monastery of S. Colombano in Bobbio, located in the Piacentino Appenines in Emilia-Romagna. [figs. 46-48] The mosaics, which were discovered during excavations of 1910 and completely uncovered in 1935, decorate the floor of the crypt.[36] The pavement is divided into four parts separated by decorative borders. The upper two portions of the floor depict the histories of the First Crusade's Battle of Antioch and the Battle of the Maccabees both visually and by inscription. The narrative panels assign considerable visual emphasis to a crusading knight

and Judas Maccabeus, the heros of their stories. Although both tales are emphasized, it is the images of the Battle of Antioch that are given greater importance by their central positioning within the overall visual field. The lower two registers of the mosaic pavement include images of fantastic creatures, natural and fantastic -- elephant, Chimera, Centaur and Dragon, as well as the labors of the months and zodiacal signs.[37] The same correspondence between these images and the heroic tales from sacred history can be found as well at Modena where Arthur's tale and the Life of S. Geminiano are enclosed within the greater universal experience of nature and the history of the world.

Heroes frequently appear in these pavement mosaics. The Maccabees are seen again on another large floor mosaic in the region of northern Italy, in the cathedral church of Casale Monferrato.[38] [fig. 49] The mosaic floor, dated to ca. 1140, now presently located in the ambulatory, shows two scenes from the story of the Maccabees. The blooded, severed head and arm of Nicanor is shown hanging from the gateway to the Temple with the inscription CAPUT...NICANORIS. A drawing done prior to the mosaics' removal to the ambulatory shows the image of a warrior holding a shield, Judas Maccabeas, standing in front of a group of soldiers. The other Maccabean fragment, no longer extant, showed Eleazar killing the elephant upon which King Antiochus was riding. In the drawing an elephant is seen in

the center of the panel as is the figure of Eleazar, named by inscription. Another heroic battle from the Old Testament, the victory of Abraham over the four Kings [Genesis 14: 9, 14-17], is commemorated at Monferrato. [fig. 50] In the center of the scene Abraham - ABRAA[M] stands clothed as a medieval knight with helmet, shield and lance, as he vanquishes the crowned figure of RE[X] CHOHORLAHOMOR, who is seen falling from his horse. Two unnamed knights, similarly armed, are seen killing two crowned figures, identified as the kings, THADAL and ARAPHEL. A fourth king, [A]RI[O]CH, lies dead upon the ground. A dueling scene, with knights using swords and shields, has only a fragmentary inscription accompanying it. However, the fact that such an inscription existed leads one to believe that this, too, depicted some well-known subject. Images of the exotic monstrous races who were thought to have resided at the edges of the world, appear, as well, on the mosaic pavement -- the ACEFALUS, a creature who wore its face on its chest;[39] and the ANTIPODS, here shown holding one of his legs, with an enormous foot, above his head.[40] The visual chronicle at Casale Monferrato spans all of cosmic history reaching to the end of time, in the image of the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse, SEPTEM C[A]P[I]T[A].

Christological and heroic images such as the stag and Samson share the mosaics' interlaced scroll design with

visions of evil such as sirens and dragons. For example, the man seen fighting a lion, found on the floor mosaic of the cathedral in Reggio Emilia, has been identified as Samson.[41] Both Samson and the stag were interpreted as analogies of Christ's triumph over death.[42] A relief plaque on the central doorway porch portal of the west facade shows the figure of a two-bodied stag.[43] [fig. 51] Named by inscription, the slaying of the lion by Samson appears as well at Modena where it is seen on a carved relief presently placed to the south of the late medieval Rose window. [fig. 52] The lion killer was often associated with the image of the mounted rider in medieval art.[44] In one such instance, Samson and the Lion was interpreted as well in relationship to mounted heroes such as Constantine.[45]

Other heroes, both classical and medieval appear in the mosaics of the Abbey church of S. Prospero in Reggio Emilia amidst images of armed figures seen wielding various bludgeons, axes, and swords.[46] [figs. 53-56] The inscription TALULORUM NOTUS ACHILLES appears beside the image of a man with a spear -- Achilles. The appearance of Achilles points to the identity of another classical hero, Hercules, shown here with his club. The medieval hero, St. George, joins these ancient heroes as he is seen in battle with the dragon. St. George, a popular hero saint closely associated with miraculous occurrences of the First Crusade appears on other floor mosaics of the region.

The floor mosaic of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia, fragments from which were uncovered in 1885, tells of the rescue of the princess by St. George.[47] [fig. 57] A facsimile drawing taken at the time of the excavation, allows for a more complete reading of the remaining fragments. St. George stands in the center of the mosaic as he vanquishes the dragon with his lance. A crowned female figure, the princess, stands by the battlements of the city, awaiting her rescue by St. George. As in the Porta della Pescheria, the image of this heroic rescue is circumscribed by opposed images of monstrous creatures -- here, the panther, chimera, wolf, and dog. The Benedictine Abbey of Ganagobie, located in the Alpine region of Italy, contains, as well, an image of St. George and the dragon on its mosaic floor.[48] [fig. 58] This image is surrounded, as well, by creatures, both fantastic and natural -- lions, an elephant, centaur and griffin.

Other romance heroes appear on these pavements. The floor mosaics in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Vercelli include the story of Roland.[49] [fig. 59] The story in two scenes shows a duel between a black Moor, naked to the waist, shown carrying a round shield, and a bearded white knight, Roland. The inscription naming the white knight now reads FOL, however, as Porter has noted, the inscription originally read ROL, the error being due to a poor restoration.[50] The inscription for the Moor is FEL,

refering to the adjective felun, often applied pejoratively in reference to the Saracens in the Chanson. In the second Roland scene, a group of men are seen gathered under a tree on which sit two ravens. A bearded knight blows a horn while two men, one naked to the waist and a black man, point in opposite directions.[51] From the new vernacular world of romance, the hero is recast within the cosmic history of the Church, as an authoritative emblem of the fight against the Saracens. As at Modena, the heroic story is set within the larger cosmic world wherein Vercelli's mosaics contains images of the natural world. The fable of the feigned death of the fox, seen on the lintel of the Porta della Pescheria, is told again at Vercelli, and, as well, on yet another northern Italian floor mosaic, in the pavements of S. Donato in Murano.[52]

Another heroic story, that of the Old Testament king, David appears in northern Italy in the floor mosaics of S. Michele in Pavia.[53] [fig. 60] The church, known for its rich sculptural decoration, contains a floor mosaic beneath the altar in the choir.[54] David, identified by inscription [DAVID], is seen killing Goliath [GOLIA]. The scene is set within the larger frame of the World, in which the geographical nature of the earth is underscored by the image of Annus, named by inscription, and the labyrinth in which Theseus, is shown killing the Minotaur. The inscription reads: THESEUS INTRAUIT MONSTRUMQUE BIFORME NECAUIT. On

medieval mappaemundi, for example the world map at Hereford, the image of the labyrinth identified the island of Crete.[55]

Geographical notations appear on other floor mosaics in northern Italy, for example, at the church of S. Salutore in Turin. The mosaics were discovered in the 1909 renovation of the church, and are presently conserved in the Museo Civico in Turin.[56] [fig. 61] In the center of the mosaic is the figure of Fortuna, FOR[TUNA], wearing a diadem and turning her wheel. Four medallions surround her, displaying at the top, a crowned figure with a scepter, the inscription reading: EFFE[RETUR]. A prostrate nude figure lying on his crown is seen in the bottom roundel.[57] Surrounding this scene is a series of eight interlaced medallions in which reside natural and fantastic creatures, cranes, lions, griffins. Enclosing these images are the wavy lines of the sea. Within the sea are islands, named by inscription; they include the northern islands of Britain and Scotland. Personifications of the four cardinal winds occupy the four spandrals of the mosaic.[58]

Included within these floor mosaics, then, are images depicting the entire course of human experience. Battles between good and evil, bestiary fables, antique legends, romance adventures, Old Testament stories, all are inscribed within the Earthly images of time and space. An encyclopedic view of Cosmic History, promoted and sanctioned by the Church, these mosaic pavements, as with similar

images at Modena, announced themselves as the visual correlatives to the written chronicles of the twelfth century. This new form of history, in which the heroic acts of individuals such as Arthur were seen as proof of the immanence of God's terrestrial power, were familiar images in the twelfth century, as they appear within the unique visions of medieval mappaemundi. The diversity of images found at Modena Cathedral and in northern Italian floor mosaics gain both thematic and structural coherence when seen in relationship to these particular visual chronicles of history.

MODENA AND MEDIEVAL MAPPAEMUNDI

Research into forms of mappaemundi other than manuscripts have been confined to brief discussions. David Woodward, and J.B. Harley, for example, in their very thorough survey of medieval mappaemundi, discuss the Byzantine mosaic at Madaba and the floor mosaic at Turin as examples of the didactic nature of mappaemundi. Their discussion only hints at the possibility for other paradigms of thinking in which an exploration of the fluid interaction between images, texts, and culture informs the understanding of these world maps.[59] Because the research into mappaemundi has been largely confined to the more traditional cartographic manuscripts, the visual

possibilities for understanding monumental sculptural programs as giant mappaemundi has gone largely unexplored.

The creators of mappaemundi, like the twelfth-century writers of history, saw the Earth as the stage for a sequence of divinely planned historical events from Creation to the Last Judgment.[60] This hermeneutic nature of mappaemundi, in which all of cosmic history is represented simultaneously arises from the medieval understanding of symbols. Hugh of St. Victor defines the symbol as a "collection of visible forms for the demonstration of the invisible."[61] In this paradigm, the roles of text and image are the opposite of modern perception in which the text predominates.[62] Hugh explains his particularly pictorial method in his treatise on Noah's ark, De Arca Noe Morali, which begins with two images -- Christ in Majesty and Noah's Ark: "As an illustration of this spiritual building[63] I shall give you Noah's ark, which your eye shall see outwardly that your soul may be fashioned to its likeness inwardly."[64] Medieval mappaemundi demonstrate this use of visual forms to represent spiritual concepts. Since the cosmic order of the Church was viewed as one continuous sequence of events from the beginning to the end of time, images in these mappaemundi defined sacred history in its entirety, as it was revealed simultaneously.

The structure of twelfth-century medieval mappaemundi derived from cartographic traditions developed in the

patristic period. Based on a graphic schematization of the world pictured as a circular or oval disc, these models divided the earth into distinct regions.[65] Modern scholarship has classified these representations into three basic categories.[66] The first of these, the Macrobian, or Zonal map, developed from Macrobius' early fifth century commentaries on Cicero's Dream of Scipio. [fig. 62] In this model, the earth was divided into five horizontal, climatic zones.[67] A second classification, the "T-O" maps, accounts for the best known group of mappaemundi from this period. Derived from the encyclopedist, Isidore of Seville, whose writings included much cosmological information -- two of the twenty books of his Etymologies were devoted to geography, the name "T-O" describes the graphic depiction of the world as a large "T" inscribed within an "O."[68] [fig. 63] In this model, the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia were divided from each other by the two rivers, the Don and the Nile, and the Mediterranean. Encircling the edges of this map is the Mare Oceanum. An important variation of this and the Macrobian model added a fourth continent, the Antipods, usually shown at the map's far left and bottom, respectively, indicating the region of the earth in which the monstrous races of the world were thought to exist.

The third major source of geographical information, The History against the Pagans, by Paulus Orosius, a negative

treatise directed against pagan writings, contained no specific mention of maps.[69] It illustrates the inimical reaction, both psychologically and emotionally, of the Christian world to the wider earthly environment which was visualized in medieval mappaemundi. No maps now exist which are attributed to Orosius, although modern scholars have pointed to the widespread use of Orosius' text in medieval geographical works.[70] An inscription seen on the lower portion of the thirteenth-century Hereford mappamundi, names Orosius as its authority: "Orosius's description of the ornesta of the world, as is displayed within."[71] The medieval mappaemundi, which developed from these antecedents, expressed the anxiety of the Christian West in the twelfth century towards its widening connections to areas outside of its native realm, as they helped to promote a basically fearful and hostile view of the world. By encompassing xenophobic visions within a Christian cosmology, the Church could explain and control the large and chaotic world beyond its parochial domain.

Early cartographic scholarship in the late nineteenth century viewed mappaemundi as a stagnant phase in the evolution of map-making. By limiting the meaning of maps to their geographical accuracy, scholars viewed mappaemundi as monstrosities of medieval ignorance.[72] This extreme view was countered by others who saw the distortions of geographical accuracy as evidence of the didactic,

rhetorical nature of medieval world maps.[73] More recent studies of these maps develop this broader understanding, viewing mappaemundi as twelfth century's historical chronicles in visual form.[74]

A thirteenth-century mappamundi, the Hereford map, preserved at Hereford Cathedral since the early fourteenth century, contains more information than any other surviving pre-fifteenth century map.[75] Comprising an abundance of details about medieval geographical notions, it represents in both its structure and content, a culmination of the medieval mappaemundi.[76] The Hereford mappamundi, as many such maps, was oriented with the East at its head. This orientation explains the often distorted view of the continents that is implied by these maps. A large map, measuring 1.65 X 1.35m, it is framed by an apocalyptic vision of the Last Judgment that is structured in a manner reminiscent of sculpted portals.[77] [fig. 64] The metaphorical meaning of large maps publically displayed suggests an image of the Church which subsumes and gives meaning to all history. In fact, the didactic use of mappaemundi in monumental sculptural form can be found in late antiquity. A discourse by the teacher and orator Eumenius on restoring the Roman school at Augustodunum in Gaul, now present day Autun, advised that the pupils should be made to study geography, using the mappamundi found in the portico of the school at Autun.[78] In conjunction with

this, an early nineteenth century survey of Autun described a marble pillar placed on the school's portico on which was seen a graphic itinerary of Cisalpine Gaul between Rimini and Turin. Accompanying this itinerary was a "magnifique carte de l'universe" referred to by Eumenius.[79] Juergen Schulz cites the example of a mural map, now lost, which was painted for Pope Zacharias (741-42) in the Lateran Palace.[80] The tympanum on the west facade of St. Lazare at Autun and the central tympanum at Vézelay present the scene of the Last Judgment within a cosmological view of the world. Included in these carved presentations are monstrous creatures as geographical references to the wider world.[81] Motivation for these sculpted doorways derives from similar inspirations for the visual narratives of medieval mappaemundi.[82]

Extant examples of early world maps from Byzantium, share with their counterparts in the latin west this didactic world view in which a Christian cosmology is superimposed onto classical models. A sixth century Byzantine mosaic, seen in situ in the remains of the church at Nicopolis in Epirus, shows a rectangular image of trees and birds bordered by the image of an ocean filled with fish.[83] The artists at Nicopolis employed geography, in the guise of the world map, to incorporate the tangible earthly domain within the larger religious environment of the Church. The mosaic, which is associated with the

Archbishop Dometios by the Greek inscription reads: "Here you can see the boundless ocean run carrying in its midst the earth, wherein all that can breathe and creep is here portrayed using the skillful images of art. Nobel archpriest Dometios found this."[84] [fig. 65] Another example of Byzantine mosaic cartography is the Madaba mosaic map, fragments of which were uncovered in 1884.[85] [fig. 66] Datable to between 542 and 565 A.D., the surviving fragments show a map of the Holy Land and lower Egypt identified by Greek inscriptions. The mosaics, which faced the portion of the church where the lay community would have stood, implied a didactic, instructive purpose for the mosaic floor.[86] In addition to the cartographic labeling of towns, the compilers of the Madaba map further identify these cites with biblical associations, for example: "Selo, where the ark once was."[87] The city of Jerusalem is prominently displayed, both by its greater size and its central position. The image of the city as an oval, walled structure, reveals a great amount of detail. In addition to the main gates and thoroughfares of the city, several buildings are identified, including the Holy Sepulchre, which appears in the center foreground.

This theme of the centrality of Jerusalem continued in later medieval mappaemundi. The circular image of the world seen on the Hereford map has its geographical center in Jerusalem. In the Christian world, the centrality of

Jerusalem had clear biblical justification: "This is Jerusalem, I have set her in the midst of the nations, and the countries round about her." [Ezekiel 5:5]. The medieval equation of spiritual and temporal locus is seen in the integration of biblical events with a particular geographical site. The abbot of Iona, Adamnan, in his De Locis Sanctis, characterized Jerusalem as the world's center: "a very high column (which) stands in the center of the city...It is remarkable how this column...fails to cast a shadow at midday during the Summer solstice, when the sun reaches the center of the heavens...And so this column...proves Jerusalem to be situated at the center of the world...and its navel."[88] In an early itinerary of the Holy Land, Bernard the Wise (ca.870) describes the walls of the four main churches of Jerusalem which form an enclosed, open porch. The four chains which come from each church are then seen to meet at a point over the center of the world.[89] The Crusade to the Holy Land strengthened this idea of the centrality of Jerusalem. Although scholars have pointed to mappaemundi which do not picture Jerusalem at the center of the world, there is general agreement that one outcome of the Crusades, with its interest in Jerusalem, was a marked shift towards this centering model.[90]

An important element referred to, then, within the medieval world map is that of contemporary events. These events were not presented sequentially but rather were

incorporated within the map's own internal visual logic. Thus Jerusalem, the locus of Christ's death and resurrection and the promised site of his Second Coming, was often shown as the center of the Earth. The itinerary of the Frankish monk Arculf's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 670 described the holy city in simple, graphic terms.[91] The itinerary, written by Adamnan, the abbot of Iona whom Arnulf visited when his ship veered off course on its return from the Holy Land, described Arculf's plans as having been drawn on wax tablets. The earliest surviving copy of this plan dates from the ninth century. A simple graphic presentation, its style derives more from survey maps than earlier Roman world maps.[92] An ideogramatic plan of four buildings in the Holy Land -- the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of Mount Zion, the Church of the Ascension, all in Jerusalem, and the Church of Jacob's Well in Nablus formed the illustration of Arculf's journey. Such itinerary maps were produced with greater frequency only after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.[93] Many of these medieval maps of Jerusalem show the city as a circular walled structure, including in their depiction important pilgrimage site.

Italy had a strong tradition of map making, attested to by the local regional maps which have survived.[94] Three extant city maps which date prior to the thirteenth century show the ideogramatic sign of the walled city.[95] The most detailed medieval map of Jerusalem comes from Italy. Known

in several versions, the earliest exists in a late thirteenth-century Florentine copy.[96] Within this strong Italian mapping tradition, the region of northern Italy was singularly prominent. The earliest surviving example is a badly damaged map dating from 1291 of Alba and Asti.[97] Contemporary references are made to maps of Padua and the Lombard region. There are, as well, eleven maps of the region which date from the fifteenth century.[98] In addition to regional maps, extant mappaemundi are to be found, as well, in Italy. An early twelfth-century mappamundi by Guido of Pisa, shows a simple graphic depiction of the world in the general "T-O" pattern.[99] [fig. 67] The only other large thirteenth century world map to survive in addition to the Hereford map, is found in Vercelli, where the story of Roland appears on the extensive mosaic pavement program.[100] The sculpted images at Modena and the numerous mosaic pavements of northern Italy were thus created within a culture which had been accustomed to envisioning historical time within a specifically spatial paradigm.

In the outer circle of the Hereford mappaemundi are the four cardinal directions -- ORIENS, MERIDIENS, OCCIDENS, AND SEPTENTRIO. [fig. 68] Each is marked by a grotesque squatting figure which faces out, legs apart, grasping its feet in its hands, an image reminiscent of the "Janus" figure at the keystone position on the west facade's central

door at Modena. The letters MORS encircle the world between the cardinal points, reminding the viewer of the transitory nature of the world, similar to the theme announced by the image of Fortuna on the mosaic map at Turin. The figures of a horseman, his attendant, and a greyhound, appear close by the Orosian inscription at the lower right of the map, and are accompanied by the words passe avante, seen inscribed above the attendant. No firm meaning has been attached to this image of the rider, but if we understand medieval mappaemundi as visual chronicles, then the chivalric rider can be read as the author's first person presentation of the tale before us.[101] The author of the Hereford map is indeed named in a Norman-French inscription at the left lower portion of the parchment:

> "Let all who have this history,
> Or shall hear, or read, or see it,
> Pray to Jesus in his Divinity,
> To have pity on Richard of Haldingham and Lafford,
> Who has made and planned it,
> To whom joy in heaven be granted."[102]

Accompanying this inscription is the image of a seated imperial figure, wearing the papal tiara and instructing his surveyors: "Go forth into the whole world and report to the Senate on all its parts, and in confirmation of this I have set my seal to this ordinance."[103] Above this, is a text from the Gospel of St. Luke [2:1]: "There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed."[104] Beginning at the upper left corner and

encircling the entire map is an inscription ascribing the survey of the world to Julius Caesar.[105]

Arranged in a general "T and O" style, the map presents a structural symmetry which inscribes Christian values onto the geographical vision of the world. Here Paradise appears as an island on the map's central axis directly below the scene of the Last Judgment. The Garden of Eden, as a fixed geographical reality, was a commonplace in mappaemundi.[106] Below Paradise which contains its four rivers, and a scene of the Temptation, Adam and Eve are seen expelled from the Garden [EXPULSIO ADE ET EVA]. Particular images relate the biblical story of Paradise with contemporary concerns of the Crusades. A tree with two branches -- [ARBOR BALSAMI I ARBOR SICCA] sits above the image of Adam and Eve, referring to both the legend of the True Cross and the legend of the Dry Tree. In the Dry Tree legend, the tree's leaves were thought to have been lost at the time of the Crucifixion. Only when Christ would conquer the Holy Land and celebrate Mass under this tree would it turn green and bear fruit -- a trenchant reminder of the necessity the crusaders felt to capture Jerusalem prior to the Second Coming.[107] The walled city of Jerusalem, the spiritual center of the world, occupies the map's central position. The Pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar, symbolic limit of the world where the ocean was thought to have prohibited further travel, is found on the lower limit of the map's vertical

axis. Crone has noted connections between the towns and cities shown on the Hereford map, and both ancient and medieval itineraries, including pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land and Compostela and trade routes originating in Italy. The area noted by Crone on the Hereford map which is given the greatest detail is Northern Italy and the Alps.[108]

Old Testament images abound in the Hereford map; while only two images, the Nativity at Bethlehem and the Crucifixion at Calgary, represent the New Testament. In addition to the image of Abraham and Lot's wife, several visual narratives highlight the story of the Exodus. Images of Noah's story, especially the Ark, were commonly seen in medieval mappaemundi. The pyramids are shown as granaries or "Joseph's barns"[109] as they were known in the Middle Ages. Close by the pyramids is the inscription "Here the people of Israel congregated in Rameses and departed from Egypt on the second day after Passover."[110] Nearby Mount Sinai a horned Moses receives the tablets of the Law, seen inscribed with a cross. The final scene from Exodus emphasized the contemporary equation between Jews and Muslims in this period of the Crusades. Close to the Red Sea, a group of people, labeled JUDEI, worship a satanic idol identified as MAHUM.[111] Monkeys, camels, tigers from Asia, elephants from India, centaurs, sphinxes, dragons, manticores and sirens all are seen to inhabit the precincts

of the Hereford map. In addition to these creatures, both fantastical and natural, biblical, ancient, and contemporary legends comprise the synchronic vision of history of Hereford's mappamundi.[112]

The images of monsters, heroes, and biblical stories seen in medieval mappaemundi, mosaic floors and in the sculpture at Modena, might seem as merely serendipitous discoveries of the repetition of random themes. Is there an underlying intellectual mechanism which enables us to connect floor, doorway and wall? Modern notions concerning the interplay between logical structure and rational interpretation have constrained our ability to see coherent meaning in what might appear to our eyes as arbitrary images. Yet an exploration of medieval world maps has shown how such images allowed for, indeed encouraged, a synecdochical exposition of cosmic history. Viewing the sculpture at Modena within this paradigm allows for a fuller interpretation of the meaning of the sculpture on the cathedral's exterior, and affords a coherence to the images which parallel the arrangement of similar themes seen in medieval mappaemundi.

To the east of the Caspian sea is the walled city from the legend of Gog and Magog. A mixture of Old Testament prophesy and the romances of Alexander, this legend relates the story of the imprisonment of the monstrous races, descendants of Cain, who were to escape and persecute the

world at the time of the Antichrist.[113] Depictions of the fantastic creatures seen to inhabit the vine scrolls at Modena were commonly found at the boundaries of mappaemundi. The recently discovered parchment fragment of a mappamundi in the records of the Duchy of Cornwall, dated to between 1150 and 1220, depicts several of the monstrous races found in their traditional location at the edges of the world.[114] [fig. 69]

MODENA AND THE MONSTROUS RACES

The Hereford mappaemundi contains twenty-two varieties of these monstrous creatures.[115] Often noted as they appear at the margins of medieval art -- in bestiaries, manuscript marginalia, and the polymorphic creatures so commonly seen on Romanesque capitals, much of the study of these monstrous creatures has been limited to research on bestiaries in the Middle Ages.[116] Yet, the humanoid figures, seen at Modena and in great variety in the medieval mappaemundi, clearly signified for medieval culture, something distinct from the representations of animals.[117] Medieval writers such as Augustine, viewed these monsters as proof of God's continual involvement in the world. God, rather than setting into motion at the time of Creation an unchanging natural order in which Nature would direct itself, had chosen particular ways to redirect Nature from its normal pattern. In this way God was able to

demonstrate his ultimate power and his continuing presence in the world.[118] Interest in these exotic creatures was connected with the fundamental theological problem of how to envision humans within the larger notion of Christian history. Did these monstrous creatures possess souls? How could they be descended from Adam -- the same lineage as humans? Was there then a separate lineage from which they arose? Such questions resided at the very core of Christian belief.

These monstrous creatures, seen placed at the farthest edges of medieval maps, testified to the existence of the exotic races thought to exist beyond the boundaries of the known world.[119] Much of the understanding of these races in the Middle Ages was derived from texts that originated in the classical world, for this subject had fascinated and terrorized human imagination since well before the medieval period. Greek written accounts are among the earliest sources concerned with such exotic peoples. The "travel books" of Ctesias and Megasthenes, dated to the early fifth and fourth century respectively, described the exotic races as part of the wonders of India.[120] Their observations became known to medieval culture through the vast encyclopedic compendium of Pliny the Elder's Historia Naturalis. Entailing thirty-seven books, this work was for the Middle Ages a rich source of natural history.[121] In addition, the most famous Greek traveler to India, Alexander

the Great, celebrated in western legends and romances, has among his writings texts of his purported travel correspondence in which he describes the monstrous races of India.[122]

Born out of a desire to explain and thus control the unknown and potentially dangerous natural world, treatises such as the Physiologus, Pliny's Natural History and the stories of Alexander's adventures, attempted to explain and codify nature within a knowable, Christian context. The creatures which inhabit the sculpted vine scrolls at Modena and medieval mappaemundi are evidence of the larger cultural tradition which was concerned with such matters. They present a rich visual witness of specific depictions of the "Plinian races," which so fascinated the medieval mind.[123] The monstrous dog-headed human figure seen eating the grapes of the vine that surrounds the central door of the west facade is a figure recognized also at Vézelay as belonging to the race cynocephali.[124] The image also on the west facade of a nude figure who holds the vine with one hand and his own foot with the other visually emphasizes this singular appendage. The stress on this particular feature suggests another fabulous race known in the Middle Ages, the sciopods.[125] A pygmie, another race found in India constantly at war with cranes, appears to fight a crane on the west facade vine scroll. The two-headed, squatting frontal figure displaying his genitals which appears at the

keystone position of the archivolt of the central door and on the Hereford map, resonates with meanings relating to both the figure of the ancient god Janus, and a representative of the fabulous race of androgini or hermaphrodite -- creatures with both male and female genitals. The image of Janus evokes temporal as well as spatial meanings as the two-headed figure looked both to the past and the future.[126]

The hermaphrodite appears again at Modena as one of the antefixes, or "metopes." [fig. 70] These relief carvings, copies of which currently appear on both the northern and southern flank of the cathedral, were known for centuries to have occupied positions high up on the building.[127] However, there is no documentary certainty as to their original position.[128] A nineteenth-century photograph of the cathedral's northern flank shows three of the metopes, a siren, a young girl, a man with long hair, surrounding the Porta della Pescheria. The dating of these figures also has been debated, ranging from 1125 to the second half of the twelfth century, based on stylistic criteria.[129] The metope depicting the hermaphrodite, a copy of which is presently located on the northern side of the church, is one of many of such figures which depict the various monstrous races thought to exist at the edges of the world.

Chiara Frugoni has identified many of these creatures in the eighth-century manuscript, the Liber Monstrorum de

diversis generibus. The connection she makes between the Liber Monstrorum and the metopes at Modena obscures the more fundamental issue that is at stake in such a comparison. History does not stand a priori to the artifact, be it written or visual text, since context is not a neutral ground upon which to build. Rather image and text together co-equally generate the context in which they reside and within which they communicate.[130] Since context is not a given but is rather produced, exploration of the imagery and meaning of the earlier written text can help us to illuminate the role that the sculpture at Modena played in producing the culture of the twelfth-century, but is not in itself sufficient to explain it.[131]

The Liber Monstrorum, arranged into three parts, cataloged human monsters, animal monsters and serpents. It is one of a series of such texts which drew upon earlier material such as Pliny's Natural History and the Alexander myths, in order to explain and proselytize the superior morality of Western Christendom.[132] Deriving from Celtic tradition and the legends of Alexander, the text reveals a decidedly negative attitude towards the monstrous races, seeing them as dangerous and treacherous.[133] Many of the creatures described are Plinian, while others originate from Greek and Roman fables, probably gleaned from Virgil.[134] Frugoni has cataloged eight of the Modena metopes by connecting them with the treatise.[135] She identifies the

hermaphrodite metope as the Siren, which is described in chapter one of the Liber as having both male and female genitals. Another monstrous race seen by Frugoni as depicted on these antefixes is the Antipodes. [fig. 71] Sculpted on three sides, this metope shows two figures, one of them, seen upside down, appears to be grasping the stone block while the other figure, wearing a long braid, is shown holding her knees; a hawk appears at her side. The Icthiophagi, or "fish-eaters," humanoid creatures with one foot and the head of a bird usually shown eating a fish, can be seen on yet another metope. [fig. 72] The Psylli, the exotic race which is immuned to the venom of snakes, is present too at Modena in the figure shown with a dragon.[136] [fig. 73]

The author of the Liber Monstrorum begins the work with the rhetorical convention of responding to his patron's questions concerning the exotic regions of the Earth. Descriptions of these monstrous creatures are closely bound up with topography of their native habitat. Images of stormy seas and remote and inhospitable terrain are then important elements in the evocation of danger and evil intent which these exotic creatures conveyed to the medieval world.[137] The xenophobia of these images announces itself in the metope of a man with long hair, a portrayal of the barbarian, [fig. 74] and the fantastic creature with three arms, identified by Frugoni with the Liber Monstrorum's

description of Asians.[138] [fig. 75] Thus must the world beyond the borders of the latin west have been for pilgrims and crusaders, travelers in the twelfth century -- a frightening presence, one in which only the security of the Church afforded any protection. The appearance of these terrifying creatures at Modena, when joined with images of travel and crusade (recall the topos for water uniting the stories of King Arthur, S. Geminiano, and Genesis), disclose the fears of Western Christendom as they journeyed beyond the margins of their native environment and the ultimate safety and refuge of the Church. The hostile, xenophobic attitudes of the Latin West both frame and are generated by the fantastic creatures at Modena and the written chronicles, such as the Liber Monstrorum. Such alliances in meaning extend to medieval mappaemundi, in which the twelfth-century cosmic view of the World formed and announced itself.

Echoes of the genealogy of the monstrous races, so important to the world chronicles of mappaemundi, are to be found in the story of the True Cross. This legend was enormously popular and widely known in the Middle Ages.[139] The tracing of this important family tree can be seen as well at Modena in the Old Testament images that appear in four sculpted friezes on the cathedral's west facade. [fig. 76] The friezes which relate the story of Genesis from the creation of Adam to the story of Noah and

the Flood, have been the focus of much scholarly attention.[140] Aside from archeological questions concerning date and position, researchers have been keen to investigate the meaning of the sculpture.[141] The placement of these images, across the surface of the facade allowed for the stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah to be read and understood simultaneously not only in relationship to each other but amidst the other images of the facade. Akin to the synchronic display of medieval mappaemundi, images of the inhabited vine scroll, the capitals and metopes, and the Genesis frieze at Modena derive their meaning by virtue of their temporal and spatial interplay. The story of Genesis unfolds at Modena through the particular agency of Adam and Eve's progeny; the images seen on the four stone friezes assign, both structurally and thematically, added importance to their particular stories.

Known through the legend of Seth, the story of the True Cross parallels, in scope, the twelfth-century histories of the World. According to this legend, just prior to his death, Adam sent his son Seth to Paradise to bring back the oil of mercy. Although Seth was refused the oil, he was given three glimpses of Paradise in which he saw a dry tree, a serpent entwined in the tree, both representing sin, and a baby, symbol of Christ who would become the oil of mercy, in the top branches of the tree. The motif of the child in the tree appears in several Grail romances. In fact an early

thirteenth-century prose version of Perceval was known at Modena.[142] The similarity between Seth's adventure and that of Perceval is another illustration of the religious context in which the Arthurian legends developed.[143] Seth returned from Paradise with three seeds from the tree, planting them in the mouth of the dead Adam. From these seeds grew three trees -- a cedar, a cypress and a pine.

The significant contribution of Old Testament heroes in this narrative is another example of the important role that heroic individuals played in the unfolding of the story. Moses uproots the three sacred trees to create the wand that sweetened the waters of Marah and brought forth water from the rock. David later inherits the wand and plants the staff, it once again becoming a tree. Solomon, unable to use the wood from the tree in building his Temple, for no matter how the tree was cut it was always too long or too short, understood its miraculous nature, and had it placed within the Temple. The seer, Maximilla, accidentally sits on the tree. As it bursts into flame she has a vision prophesizing that Christ will die upon it. The Jews subsequently put Maximilla to death and hurl the tree into a pit. The encyclopedic nature of the story includes allusions to eschatological concerns including certain prophecies of the Sibyl; in one, the Sibyl, recognizing the holy tree which was then serving as a bridge to ford a stream, refused to walk upon it.[144]

In the apocryphal tradition, Seth, the model child of Adam, from whose seed humans derive, was viewed as a substitute son to Adam after the death of Abel and the spiritual death of Cain. The implications for the theology of the Church is evident when we recall that it was through Seth's line that Christ was born.[145] In the new cosmic history of the twelfth century it was important for the Church to demonstrate, through a clear genealogy, the divinely planned succession of a Christian cosmology. Often such twelfth-century universal histories joined Old Testament narrative with the history of the ancient world and fable by paralleling each in adjoining columns.[146] The question of where to place the monstrous races within sacred history was thus of central concern to any such universal view. The negative view of these creatures as degenerate and cursed derives from various and ultimately unresolved interpretations of the familial descent from Adam.

One view held that the monstrous creatures descended from Adam. Their curse was a consequence of the disregard of Adam's children to heed his warnings not to eat certain herbs. Three Middle High German poems written between 1060 and 1170, known as the Vienna Genesis recount this apocryphal tale in which the Plinian races derive from this disobedience.[147] An image from the Hereford mappamundi relates this story. The image of an elephant stands nearby the story of Adam and Eve. In a legend related by Moir in

his description of the map, the male elephant, too chaste for lovemaking, was given the aphrodisiac mandragora plant by Eve. The punishment for eating this plant was the birth of Cain, their evil son.[148] The narrative of the story of Cain in relationship to Adam and Eve is emphasized further in the Hereford map where behind the figures of Adam and Eve appears Enos, the city built by Cain. Indeed, this connection between Adam and Eve and their progeny is frequently found on medieval mappaemundi.

Other legends viewed the lineage of the monstrous races as descending from Cain or Noah's son Ham. Cain, of course, is the ideal ancestor of these alien races; as the murderer of Abel he came to be associated with the Devil in all his guises, including the heretic and infidel, both Jew and Muslim.[149] The Rabbinic tradition first introduces the connection between Cain and the Devil.[150] Cain's curse was understood in this tradition as deriving from Eve, where the serpent was seen to have injected his impurity into Eve, so that the result of her intercourse with Adam was the birth of two sons -- Abel from Adam's progeny and Cain, the Devil's son.[151]

The Christian connection between Cain and the monstrous races is confirmed by the description of the monstrous race of Blemyes or Anthrophagi, cannibalistic creatures whose heads grow beneath their shoulders. The Hereford mappamundi describes this creature: "Here are exceedingly truculent

men, eating human flesh, drinking blood, cursed sons of Cain."[152] Many of the accounts of Cain's life after his exile focus on his physical deformity. The notion of horns as the mark of Cain is negatively attested to by Rupert of Deutz: "And the mark of Cain was not a trembling of the body, nor was it a horn that grew out of his forehead, for such notions come from Jewish tales and not from the authority of scripture."[153]

The alternative view of the lineage of the monstrous races saw them as descending from Noah's son Ham. After the Flood the World was thought to have been divided among Noah's three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japheth. Sem inherited Europe, Ham was given Africa, and Japheth ruled Asia. Friedman traces this genealogy in his discussion of a Middle Irish history of the Six Ages of the World, now in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS 502b.[154] The structure of the work illuminates the two central questions concerning the monstrous races -- how they came to be, and how they survived the Flood. The work, which is divided into two parts traces the lineage of monsters from Cain's progeny to the Flood, and the later continuing existence of monsters after Noah. Although Cain's descendants did not survive the Flood, a spiritual descendant of Cain was seen to arise in the figure of Ham.[155] The curse of Ham, that his descendants shall be servants of servants, his punishment for not covering his father's nakedness, was interpreted in

a Muslim account as the source of post-deluvian monsters: "His famous father cursed the son called Ham so that he...is the Cain of the people after the Flood. From him with valour sprung horse-heads and giants, the line of maritime leprechauns, and every unshapely person. Every person in the east without a head, going from glen to glen, and his white mouth protruding from his breast, he is of the posterity of Ham."[156] Noah had cursed Ham by asking God to make him black and for him to be a slave of his brothers.[157] The particular nature of the curse helped to identify him with the Ethiopians, as notions of his African heritage and his curse of servitude led to interpretations of Ham which reveal an early animosity towards dark-skinned races.

For the Latin West, the progeny of Ham were often linked to other alien races -- the Moors, the eastern Khan and the Saracens.[158] Indeed, the favorite progenitor of the Saracen in the chansons de gestes was Cain.[159] The characterization of Cain and Ham with sin and evil became almost a commonplace in the Middle Ages, where individuals or groups which had been singled out for ridicule were often assigned to this dubious family tree. The strength of this legend can be seen in its appearance in the Old English poem, Beowulf. The monster Grendel, the inheritor of an ancestral curse, an enemy of men, is seen to be related to the lineage of Cain. The two pertinent passages involve the description of Grendel, including his genealogical line,

"Grendel, the famous stepper at the edges of the land,....The wretched one had dwelt with a giant sea race a while since the Creator had condemned him. Almighty God had requited the act of him who slew Abel on Cain's kindred;" and the revenge for the death of Grendel by his mother, in which she mourns her own misery as the mother of "Camp was become a sword killer of his only brother, his father's son."[160] The enduring belief in Cain and Ham's monstrous progeny testifies to the xenophobic attitudes of the latin west, attitudes which were intensified and politicized as the twelfth-century witnessed the physical expansion of the Christian world through its Crusade to the Holy Land.

Within the structured context of medieval mappaemundi, Old Testament stories functioned as historical events within the larger paradigm of Cosmic History. This purpose did not preclude other metaphorical and symbolic interpretations of these biblical stories. In the Middle Ages, temporal and spatial boundaries -- the essential components of historia -- were obscured and interchangeable. Pagan history, biblical history, legendary history, and natural history were understood within the Church's teleology through their mutual explication. Thus, for example, the image of Noah's Ark, a commonplace in mappaemundi, was read as a salvific message of the redemptive power of the Church because of its historical locus.

On the northern portion of the west facade at Modena, two reliefs tell the story of Adam and Eve, from Creation to their expulsion from Paradise and subsequent labors. [fig. 24] In the first scene, Creation and the creation of Adam are conflated. God, seen in a mandorla, which is held aloft by two angels, holds in his hand an open book. The inscription, which he points to is from the Gospel of John [8:12, 14:6]: LUX EGO SU[M] MUNDI / VIA VERAX VITA PERENNIS. This reference from John continues on the southern portion of the cycle. In the first image on the southern side, the scene of Cain and Abel's sacrifice, an enthroned God is held aloft by a kneeling atlante figure. In God's hand an open book completes the quote from John [8:12]: QUI SEQUITUR ME NON A[M]BULAT,[161] as the teleology of Sacred History reinterprets Old Testament historia within the Christ's redemptive promise.

The scenes on the four relief plaques are enclosed within an arcaded frame reminiscent of ecclesiastical architecture, including two slender classical columns which enclose the scene of Eve's creation. This allusion to the cathedral's interior helps to interpret Old Testament historia as occurring within the redemptive embrace of the Church as the concrete nature of the architectural imagery fashions Paradise within an identifiable locus. Just as Christ was seen to be the Earth in the Ebsdorf mappaemundi, the architectural motif locates the Church as residing in,

indeed, as being the physical reality of the World. The creation of Eve occupies the large central portion of the first frieze. Here God grasps Eve by the wrist, as she is seen emerging from the side of the sleeping Adam.[162] The unique sign for water, seen beneath the image of Adam sleeping, is another declaration of the scene's geographical reality, with its reference to Jerusalem, specifically the Hill of Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[163]

The scene of the expulsion occupies two of the three scenes on the second relief plaque. [fig. 77] The promise of apocalyptic redemption is woven into the history of Genesis at Modena through the agency of Adam and Eve's progeny, Seth, as Adam is promised the Tree of Life at the Resurrection.[164] The image of the archangel with his flaming sword refers not to the expulsion from Paradise but to the protection of the Tree of Life for which God placed, at the gates of Paradise, three angels and a flaming sword. Apocryphal accounts of this legend connect the story of Paradise with the legends of Seth and the Tree of Life.

The prominent image of Adam and Eve toiling flanks the central doorway's northern side. The image of Eve toiling is rare, the more traditional iconography shows Eve spinning or nursing.[165] Again, the story gains its meaning through its association with Eve's progeny, here in the story of Cain. Gandolfo has noted the similarity between the scene of Adam and Eve toiling at Modena and images of Cain's

attempted burial of Abel.[166] Frugoni connects this image and the Genesis frieze cycle at Modena to the liturgical drama, The Play of Adam, in which specific scenes such as the toiling of Eve, and the prophets which flank the inner doorposts of the central doorway are seen to occur in the drama.[167] The Cosmic History of the play unfolds through its three part division concerned with the story of Adam and Eve, the story of Cain, and the procession of prophets which announce the coming of Christ.[168]

The sacrifice of Cain and Abel, which flanks the central doorway on its southern side, mirrors the image of Adam and Eve toiling.[169] [fig. 78] The story of Cain, the progenitor of the monstrous races, and by reputation the sign for the heretic and infidel, both Jew and Muslim, is told in four separate scenes, spanning more than one entire relief frieze.[170] The legend of Cain stressed his violent nature and his debased human status. The violent killing of Abel, shown in the central panel of the third frieze, emphasized his sub-human character, as Cain is shown not in the act of lifting his weapon, but rather actively murdering his brother.[171] Cain's story is further elaborated at Modena by the inclusion of the narrative of God's condemnation of Cain. The first scene on the fourth and final frieze plaque continues with the legend of Lamech, retelling the story of Cain's death.[172] The monstrous nature of Cain is implied by the tale of Lamech, in which

Lamech, who was blind, was lead to kill Cain by his son Tubal as they were hunting, for Cain appeared to Tubal as a wild animal.[173]

The Genesis cycle concludes with two scenes from the story of Noah in which the lineage of the monstrous races, Ham's progeny, is told. [fig. 79] The first image, Noah's Ark, is centrally placed within the last relief frieze. The ark is shown as a double galleried structure, reminiscent of contemporary Romanesque architecture.[174] The image of the Church, doubly reflected in the overall architectural metaphor of Old Testament historia, and within the image of the Ark itself, becomes a powerful sign for God's tangible presence in the world. The image of the Ark was a commonplace in medieval mappaemundi, as these visual chronicles of world history necessitated the importance of tracing the genealogy of the monstrous races. The last image of the Genesis cycle at Modena shows Noah and his three sons. The image, divided into two groupings -- Noah's two sons Japeth and Sem, and Noah and his cursed son Ham, announce the post-deluvian division of the peoples of the world, and the exegesis of the origins of the world's monstrous races.

Naming and locating the genealogy of the monstrous races traced on Modena's west facade enabled the Church to subsume and control the frightening world of alien creatures which resided outside of its native domain. King Arthur and

S. Geminiano, like the heroic figures found in medieval world maps, empowered the unfolding of the Church's cosmic history through the agency of individual action, as the Church sought to fix contemporary realities within a larger sacred cosmology. In fact, true meaning for these stories required a convergence of the real and ideal worlds -- the conflation of chivalric romance and contemporary events. Employing the model of medieval world maps with its focus upon Jerusalem as both the spiritual and concrete center of the world, the structural centrality of the rescue of Guinevere by King Arthur and the eastern princess by S. Geminiano seen on the two side doorways at Modena reenact in visual form the crusaders' rescue of the Holy City. Perceived within this paradigm of mappaemundi, the seemingly unrelated images of heroes and monstrous creatures found at Modena announce themselves as more than mere anachronistic curiosities. Rather, they constitute vital elements of the twelfth-century Church's view of cosmic history. Indeed, in its synecdochical structure, the sculpted mappamundi seen at Modena declares all of history -- biblical, natural, pagan, and contemporary -- to be under its domain.

NOTES

1. That is not to say that the doorway has not been described fully, only that no attempt has been made, to my knowledge, to define the meaning of the various images and how they relate to one another. For bibliography on this doorway see chapter two of this dissertation.

2. The Porta della Pescheria, the Porta dei Principi, and the central doorway of the west facade. I have chosen to employ the term antefixes although it is one generally reserved for descriptions of classical architecture, as it is the term used by Italian scholars in their discussions of Modena's metopes.

3. Le Roman de Renart, M. Roques, ed. 6 vols. (Paris, 1948-53). This popular medieval legend, in which the Fox was often seen to resemble the devil, was represented in illustrated bestiaries. T. H. White translates the twelfth-century copy of a Latin prose bestiary [Cambridge University Library, II.4.26]: "[The Fox] is a fraudulent and ingenious animal. When he is hungry and nothing turns up for him to devour, he rolls himself in red mud so that he looks as if he were stained with blood. Then he throws himself on the ground and holds his breath, so that he positively does not seem to breath. The birds, seeing that he is not breathing, and that he looks as if he were covered with blood with his tongue hanging out, think he is dead and come down to sit on him. Well, thus he grabs them and gobbles them up. The Devil has the nature of this same. With all those who are living according to the flesh he feigns himself to be dead until he gets them in his gullet and punishes them. But for spiritual men of faith he is truly dead and reduced to nothing." The Book of Beasts. Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century, (1954, rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1984): 53-54.
For a general review of various written sources of this story see, J. Flinn, Le Roman de Renart dans la littérature française et dans les littératures étrangères au Moyen Age, (Toronto, 1963). The story of the Fox and his fable has been discussed by other scholars. See, for example: Florence McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, no. 33 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962): 119-120. McCulloch cites 4 versions of the Latin Physiologus as well as examples from Gregory's Moralia and the French bestiaries of Guillaume le Clerc and Pierre de Beauvais in which the story is illustrated. She notes the influence of the Roman de Renart

in both French versions; Porter, vol. 1, 331, discusses the story in relationship to the image on the Porta della Pescheria; Willene B. Clark cites the story of the feigned death of the Fox in her discussion of the thirteenth-century Aviary-Bestiary at Harvard, "The Aviary-Bestiary at the Houghton Library, Harvard," in Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages. The Bestiary and Its Legacy, Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989): 26-52.

4. For a general review of Labors of the Months see, for example: James Carson Webster, The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art, Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, 4, (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1938).

5. Other scholars have discussed this issue. See for example, Linda Seidel's examination of the architectural bias in art historical scholarship in Songs of Glory. The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981): 17-20. Marilyn Schmitt has made a similar argument concerning the understanding of the sculpture of western France. "'Random' Reliefs and 'Primitive' Friezes: Reused Sources of Romanesque Sculpture," Viator 11 (1980): 123-145. Although she excludes Italy from her discussion, I find it oddly out of step with her argument as she employs an explicitly evolutionary model, the "Comascan current," to exempt Italian examples from her discussion. E. Kain addresses this issue in relationship to Italian monuments in her discussion of the facade of San Zeno: "The Marble Reliefs on the Facade of San Zeno," Art Bulletin, 63 (1981) 358-74. The work of Meyer Schapiro informs all later thinking on this matter. See, for example, his reply to Jurgis Baltrusaitis' formalist argument in, "On Geometrical Schematism in Romanesque Art," (1932) Romanesque Art. Selected Papers (New York: George Braziller, 1977): 265-284.

6. Only the central door of the west facade is dated to the original construction of the cathedral. The question of the inhabited vine decoration as a unifying element at Modena is discussed in the article by Enrico Castelnuovo, "*Flores cum beluis comixtes*: I portali della cattedrale di Modena" in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 452-55.

7. White, 54.

8. For discussion of the Physiologus see: McCulloch, Bestiaries: 15-44; Francesco Sbordone, "La tradizione manoscritta del Physiologus latino," Athenaeum: Studi periodici di litteratura, NS 27 (1949). For an english translation of the Physiologus see Michael J. Curley,

trans., Physiologus, (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979).

9. See Beasts and Birds: 2-3 for a discussion of the derivation of bestiaries from the earlier Physiologus.

10. McCulloch cites the example of the Manticore in the Physiologus as well as in bestiaries. The image comes from earlier precedents to Physiologus, such as the Greek writers, Ctesais and Aristotle, and the Roman, Solinus. Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 143-43. Rarer is the portrayal of the Manticore with the head of a woman, where the female monster is seen as the potential destroyer of men. For example, in manuscript at Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. 384, f. 175v, as cited by McCulloch, Latin Bestiaries, 142.

11. Pliny notes that the Griffin is native to Ethiopia. See: McCulloch, 122-23.

12. India was for the Middle Ages the land of miracles. Much of its reputation derived from the writings of the ancient world and from the medieval legends of Alexander the Great. For further discussion of this topic see, for example: John Kirtland Wright, The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe, (1925, rpt. with new introduction by Clarence J Glacken, New York: Dover Press, 1965): 272-79.

13. McCulloch, Latin Bestiaries, 93.

14. White, Book of Beasts, 168.

15. Early medieval depictions of the Siren show her with an avian body. Edmond Faral cites the Liber Monstrorum, a text which later will enter into our discussion, as the earliest known instance in which it is shown with a fish body. "La queue de poisson des sirènes," Romania, 74 (1953): 433-506. See George C. Druce for a discussion of classical precedents: "Some Abnormal and Composite Human Forms in English Church Decoration," Archaeological Journal, 72, (1915): 135-86.

16. McCulloch, 166-68.

17. Jonathan Riley-Smith discusses the almost paralyzing fear of the crusaders. See The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading, 71-3. The problem of adultery is documented in the chronicles of the First Crusade, where adulterers were said to be stripped and beaten. Albert of Aachen, 378-9 and

Guibert of Nogent, Gesta, 182. This issue is discussed by Riley-Smith in The First Crusade, 88.

18. J. L. Schrader, A Medieval Bestiary, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Summer 1986): 33.

19. Although this theme flourished in the Roman period, it has its antecedents in the earlier classical Greek and Hellenistic periods. For a detailed discussion of this motif in the ancient world see: J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," Papers of the British School at Rome, XVIII, n.s. vol. V (1950): 1-120.

20. André Grabar, "Recherches sur les sources juives de l'art paléochrétien," Cahiers Archéologiques, XII (1962): 119-122.2

21. For a discussion of the christian meaning of the inhabited vine scroll see: Claudine Dauphin, "Symbolic or Decorative? The Inhabited Scroll as a Means of Studying Some Early Byzantine Mentalities," Byzantion, 48 (1978): 10-34.

22. For the Early Christian revival in Rome see, for example: Hélène Toubert, "Le Renouveau paléochrétien a Rome au début du XIIe siècle," Cahiers Archéologiques XX (1970): 99-154. See as well Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser. 22 (1972): 87-102.

23. This notion of an open-ended contextual reading of visual signs is noted in post-structuralist semiotics in which the reading of signs is seen as a fundamentally dynamic process. Jacques Derrida discusses this movement of meaning, in what he calls the perpetuum mobile. See, Dissemination, B. Johnson, trans., (Chicago, 1982). For further discussion on pertinent semiotical issues see, for example: Jacques Derrida, "Living On: Border Lines," in H. Bloom, et al., eds., Deconstruction and Criticism, (New York: Seabury Press, 1979). Jonathan Culler, who discusses the mobility of signs: Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); and Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin, 73/2 (1991): 174-208. Francesco Gandolfo discussion of the new meanings of papal motifs at Modena assumes similar operations. See: "Note per una interpretazione iconologia delle storie del Genesi di Wiligelmo," Romanico padano, romanico europeo (Modena - Parma, 1977): 303-337.

24. Augusto Campana, "Le iscrizioni metriche dei telamoni romanici padani," Convegno dell'Università di Parma sul Romanico mediopadano.
The use of these types of leonine verses is discussed as well by Meyer Schapiro in his article, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos:" 58-59 and n.171 in which he cites our example at Modena Cathedral. Other examples of the use of atlante figures and leonine verse cited by Schapiro and others are: the Bible at Floreffe [British Museum Add. Ms. 17738, the depiction of Hell on the Otranto floor mosaic, an enamel plaque of the crucifixion from Hildesheim now at the Cluny Museum in Paris, Erlangen, Gumpert Bible image of the Baptism of Cornelius. See Schapiro article for complete citation and bibliography.

25. "Here he chafes, here he weeps, here he groans, too much does he labor."

26. "Here your ----- Michel bears with vigor." B. Colfi, "Di una recente interpretazione data alle sculture dell'archivolto nella porta settentrionale del Duomo di Modena," Atti e Memorie Deputazione di Storia Patria Antiche Provincie Modenesi IX (1899): 133-252.
This and other issues concerning the inscriptions on the Porta della Pescheria, including extensive bibliography, are discussed in the recent article by Augusto Campana, "La testimonianza delle iscrizioni," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 363-73.
More recently, Montorsi has proposed an interpretation where the inscription is seen to refer to the artist: [FECI BONFANTE PRECE]S MICHI FERTE IUVANTES. W. Montorsi, Iscrizioni modenesi romanische e gotiche. Duomo e Palazzo del Comune (Modena, 1977).
Campana, most recently has suggested: [AUXILIUM INTRANTES O VO]S MICHI FERTE IUVANTES or [SISITE SPECTANTES ET OPE]S MICHI FERTE IUVANTES.
Many investigators have written on the inscriptions at Modena. Two of the most recent publications include that by W. Montorsi and Mons. Pietro Galavotti, Le più antiche fonti storiche de Duomo di Modena (Modena, 1972).

27. This inscription was discovered during the photographic project conducted by C. Leonardi in 1983. Both this inscription and the one appearing under the left hand atlante figure were first published in the catalog notes concerned with the inscriptions at Modena by Saverio Lomartire and by Augusto Campana in his article "La testimonianza delle iscrizioni" both appearing in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. It has been suggested by Peroni that the fragment [...]ERTE IUVANTES found on the soffit arch to the right of the doorway was reused on the cornice, and that originally it was placed on the right lower doorpost, as a

pendant for the "Michi" inscription. Certainly in light of the post medieval restorations of this doorway a suggestion that certain stones were moved seems reasonable.

28. "O what a great burden I bear, come to my aid."

29. For Piacenza Cathedral see as well: Arturo Carol Quintavalle, "Piacenza Cathedral, Lanfranco, and the School of Wiligelmo," Art Bulletin 55 (1973): 40-57; Lorenza Cochetti Pratesi, "La decorazione plastica della cattedrale di Piacenza," in Il duomo di Piacenza (1122-1972). Atti del Convegno di Studi Storici in Occasione dell'850 Anniversario della Fondazione della Cattedrale di Piacenza (Piacenza: Stabilimento Tipografico Piacentino, 1975): 53-71.
For Cremona see: Alfredo Puerari, Il duomo di Cremona (Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1971); Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, "La cattedrale di Cremona, Cluny, la scuola di Lanfranco e di Wiligelmo," Storia dell'arte 18 (1973): 117-72.
For S. Silvestro at Nonantola see: Roberto Salvini, "Gli scultori del portale di Nonantola," Atti e memorie. Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi, 8th ser., 6 (1954): 258-74.

30. Christine Verzår Bornstein, "Matilda of Canossa, Papal Rome and the Earliest Italian Porch Portals," 144-58.

31. K. Oettinger, "Der Elfenbeinschnitzer des Echternacher Codex Aureus und die Skulptur unter Heinrich III (1039-56)," Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 1 (1959): 34-54.

32. For further discussion about the mosaics of S. Savino see the chapter by Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin concerned with mosaic pavements in Roberto Salvini, La basilica di San Savino e le origini del Romanico a Piacenza. (Modena: Artioli Editore, 1978); William L. Tronzo, "Moral Hieroglyphs: Chess and Dice at San Savino in Piacenza," Gesta 16/2 (1977): 15-26; Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture vol. 3: 260-277; -------, "S. Savino at Piacenza," American Journal of Archaeology 2nd ser. XVI (1912): 350-495. G. Malchiodi, Memorie storico critiche della Basilica di S. Savino (Piacenza, 1903); -------, S. Savino, vescovo di Piacenza (Piacenza, 1905); G. Tononi, "Mosaici della Basilica di S. Savino di Piacenza," in La Regia Basilica di San Savino in Piacenza (Piacenza, 1903).

33. For further discussion of the mosaics at Cathedral of Aosta see Porter Lombard Architecture vol. 2: 48-53.

34. Tronzo.

35. A floor mosaic found in southern Italy, the giant mosaic pavement at Otranto in the Apulian region, has the most extensive, encyclopedic floor mosaics, including the only other named image of King Arthur in Italy. However, the scope of the mosaics' program requires an investigation which goes beyond the scope of the present dissertation. For further discussion of the Otranto mosaics see: Chiara Settis Frugoni, "Il mosaico di Otranto: modelli culturali e scelte iconografiche," Bolletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 82 (1970): 243-270; an unpublished dissertation by Clara Bargellini, "Studies in Medieval Apulian Floor Mosaics," Harvard University, 1974; and Carl Arnold Willemsen, L'Enigma di Otranto. Il mosaico pavimentale del presbitero pantaleone nella cattedrale, Rafaele DiSanto, trans., 1980.

36. For further discussion of the Bobbio mosaics see: Hermes Balducci, Il grande mosaico della chiesa di S. Colombano, Istituto Pavese di Arti Grafiche, V (Pavia, 1935); Roberto Salvini, La Basilica di S. Savino e le origini del Romanico a Piacenza (Modena, 1978), esp. the chapter by Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin on the pavement mosaics; and a recent article by Rosemarie Hess, "Das Bodenmosaik von S. Colombano in Bobbio," Arte Medievale II serie, II, 2 (1988), 103-140.

37. Labors of the Months appear in several other northern Italian mosaic floors -- Sta. Maria Maggiore in Vercelli, S. Savino in Piacenza, Aosta Cathedral, S. Prospero in Reggio Emilia, S. Tommaso in Reggio Emilia, and S. Michele in Pavia. Likewise, the signs of the Zodiac are present at S. Savino in Piacenza, and two churches in Reggio Emilia, S. Tommaso and S. Prospero. See Hiltrud Kier, Der Mittelalterliche Schmuckfussboden, (Düsseldorf, Rheinland Venlag, 1970) for a summary of these images.

38. See Porter, Lombard Architecture, II, 244-256.

39. These monstrous races often seen in medieval mappaemundi. Frequently used to describe those individuals who were out of favor with the Church, Isidore of Seville, equated these creatures with heretics. Etymologiarum, VIII, 5, PL, LXXXII, 304. See the later section in this chapter which discusses these monstrous races in detail.

40. Here the artist has actually depicted a sciopod, who was thought to use his foot as a sunshade. The antipods were known for their long, strap-like feet.

41. The mosaics of the Duomo, presently preserved in the Civici Musei, were discovered in 1878. For further discussion of the mosaics see: Mario Degani, I Mosaici Romanici di Reggio Emilia (Reggio-Emilia, 1961). Porter

dates the mosaics by stylistic comparison to c. 1090, however, Kier dates it to the end of the twelfth century, 1187-1210. Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 309. Hiltrud Kier, Schmuckfussboden. Degani and Kier, differing from Porter, identify the scene as a portrayal of Daniel and the Lion. A second Old Testament story appears on the cathedral's mosaic floor at Reggio Emilia, in a fragmentary scene of Adam and Eve in the Garden, an image of which appears, as well, at Modena on the relief frieze on the west facade.

42. The image of Samson and the Lion appears, as well, at the Benedictine Abbey of Nonantola, Modena's political adversary in the twelfth century. For further discussion of the image of Samson see: G. Swarzenski, "Samson Killing the Lion," Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, 38 (Boston, 1940); P. Carus, The Story of Samson and His Place in the Religious Development of Mankind, 1907.
The story of Samson and Lion appears in Byzantine art in the guise of another heroic tale, Hercules and the Lion.
The image of the stag, as seen in Early Christian art, often was associated with the Tree of Life. See, for example, the mausoleum of the Galla Placidia in Ravenna. See McCulloch for a discussion of medieval interpretations of these images: 137-140, 172-174.

43. Although Quintavalle sees this plaque as originally intended for the pulpit, Enrica Pagella points to the smoothing of the left lower angle of the relief as proof of its original placement on the facade. "Catalog Notes for the West Facade," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo, 476-77.

44. See: Seidel, Songs of Glory, 68.

45. Abbé Pierre-Marie Tonnelier discusses the image of Samson and the Lion in relationship to images of mounted heroes such as Constantine: "Réflexions sur les cavaliers des portails romanes," Bulletin de la Société historique et scientifique des Deux-Sèvres, 9 (1952): 225-31.

46. Mathilda of Canossa was traditionally thought to be the benefactor of the Abbey. Porter, III, 312. For further discussion of the mosaics see: Degani, I Mosaici Romanici di Reggio Emilia; and Porter, Lombard Architecture III, 309-315. Porter dates the mosaics to 1148. Kier places the date at 1160-1171. Porter points to a 1148 document of the of the church which states that Achilles, the archdeacon of the cathedral in Reggio was present at the consecration of the church. Lombard Architecture, III, 315.

47. The mosaics are presently in the Museo Civico in Pavia. The church is dated to approximately the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century. For further discussion of the church see: Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 215-230.

48. For further discussion of this church see: Roberto Salvini, La Basilica di San Savino el le origini del Romanico a Piacenza, (Modena:Artioli Editore, 1978): chapter on mosaic pavements by Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin. The church is dated to 1120-1124; O. Marucchi, "Il mosaico di S. Maria di Ganagobia," Bollettino di Archologia Cristiana, IV (1898): 113-117.

49. For further discussion of these mosaics see: Salvini, La Basilica di San Savino, chapter on the mosaic pavements; and Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 459-466; Arturo Venturi, Storia dell'Arte, vol. 3, 421; Julien Durand, "Pavé mosaique de Verceil," Annales archéologiques, 20 (1860): 57. As with most of these mosaics dating is a creative art. The mosaics are dated by Porter to 1148, based on a document of that date, which details the consecration of the church by Pope Eugenius III.

50. Lombard Architecture, III, 465.

51. Porter has interpreted this scene as compilation of the Chanson de Roland much as 'the sculptures of the Porta della Pescheria at Modena [recall] the extant poems of the Arthurian cycle." Lombard Architecture, III, 464.

52. The mosaics are dated to 1140. They are discussed by Venturi, who compare the story of the Fox at Vercelli and Murano with the depiction of the story on the lintel of the Porta della Pescheria. Storia dell'Arte, vol. 3, 346.

53. The church has been dated stylistically to ca. 1130. For further discussion of this monument see, for example: Adriano Peroni, San Michele di Pavia, (Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1967); Salvini, San Savino, mosaic chapter; Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 199-215. Another mosaic fragment at Vercelli, no longer extant but known through an engraving, details the story of David in the images of David Dancing. Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 463; Kier, Schmuckfussboden, 73.

54. The sculptural program a colossal Universal History, includes many images akin to those seen at Modena, capitals showing the Old Testament stories of Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel. The exterior facade consists of bands of sculpture, placed at irregular intervals with images of

fantastic creatures and inhabited vine scrolls. Other reliefs on the facade include mounted riders, labors of the months and zodiacal signs, fantastic creatures, stories from the Old and New Testament.

55. See the later discussion of mappaemundi and appropriate bibliography for the Hereford map.

56. The church is dated to the twelfth century by Toesca. Porter dates it to 1105. Although the church was dedicated in 1132, no firm connection can be made with the mosaics. For further discussion of these mosaics see: Ernst Kitzinger, "World Map and Fortune's Wheel: A Medieval Mosaic in Turin," The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West. Selected Studies, (Bloomington, Ind. and London: Indiana University Press, 1976): 327-356; Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, 442-447.

57. Kitzinger discusses these images as symbolizing the cycle of glory, misery and aspiration in the Wheel of Fortune.

58. Given the central image of the Wheel of Fortune, Kitzinger sees the mosaics at Turin as a map of the world which subverts the traditional message of such mappaemundi, in which the Church mirrored the controlling power of the Cosmos, to the more baleful, message of the transitory nature of the world.

59. See J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds. The History of Cartography. Vol. I, "Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean," (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987): 264-65, 339.

60. The comments and analysis of David Woodward were especially useful in formulating my thesis concerning Modena and mappaemundi. See, for example: "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 75 (1985): 510-21; and J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds. The History of Cartography. Vol. I. The connection between medieval mappaemundi and the written chronicles is discussed by Anna-Dorothee v. den Brincken. See: "'...Ut describeretur universus orbis' zur universalkartographie des Mittelalters," Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters, Albert Zimmerman, ed., Miscellenia Mediaevalia, 7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970): 249-278.

61. "symbolum est collatio formarum visibilium ad invisibilium demonstrationem." Commentari in Hierarchiam Coelesteim S. Dionysii Areopagitae 2, PL, 175:941B. This

quotation is cited by Gerhardt B. Ladner in his article, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," Speculum, 54/2 (1979): 223-256.

62. Certain modern art historians have worked at correcting this hierarchy in which word precedes image. See, for example: Mieke Bal, "On Reading and Looking," Semiotica, 76, (1989):283-320; Michael Camille, " Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," Art History, 8/1 (1985): 26-49.

63. Hugh characterizes the inner spiritual life in concrete, architectural terms. Significantly, he uses the tangible symbol of a building to make his point.

64. De Arca Noe Morali, Porl. PL, I,ii,622. Beryl Smalley discusses Hugh's use of images in teaching his pupils. She cites, as well, Hugh's description of his drawing as another instance of the medieval use of concrete images as a symbolic method of understanding. See Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed., (1952; rpt. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1978): 95-97. I have employed Smalley's translation.

65. Much interest has been generate of late concerning the question of whether the Middle Ages understood the world as a globe or a flat disc. Jill Tattersall makes a distinction between high and low culture, seeing didactic texts written by more learned individuals as understanding the world as round, whereas authors, writing for a broader, more general audience, often misunderstood geographical lore and may have understood the earth to be flat. "Sphere or Disc? Allusions to the Shape of the Earth in Some Twelfth-Century Vernacular French works," Modern Language Review, 76 (1981): 31-46. David Woodward cites Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede as medieval thinkers who, although sometimes unclear in their terminology, believed the earth to be a sphere. See: The History of Cartography, 318-323; and -------, "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps," 510-521.

66. It is not my intent to trace the understanding of medieval mappaemundi exclusively to these written texts. I use them here in order to acquaint the reader with the conventions of graphic presentation which developed in the medieval visualization of the world.

67. Some of the maps illustrations in the Liber Floridus, the encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer, are a examples of such maps. For further information on Macrobius see: William Harris Stahl, "Astronomy and Geography in Macrobius," Transactions and Proceedings of the American

Philological Society, 35 (1942): 232-38. For a translation of Macrobius see: William Harris Stahl, ed., trans., Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952).

68. For further discussion on Isidore of Seville's geographical information see: Ernest Brehaut, An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. 48, no.1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912); Wesley M. Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's 'De naturum Rerum,'" Isis 71 (1980): 268-77.

69. For a modern translation of Orosius see: Roy J. Deferrari, trans., The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964).

70. See: Armando Cortesao, History of Portuguese Cartography, 2 vols., (Coimbra: Junta de Investigaçoes do Ultramar-Lisboa): I, 156.

71. "Descriptio Orosii de Ormesta Mundi sicut interius ostenditur." Scholars who have studied the Hereford map have found evidence of many other sources employed by the creator of the map, including Biblical references, Church Fathers such as Augustine, Jerome, and Isidore of Seville, ancient writers including Pliny the Elder and Strabo. Such a multitude of sources, both classical and medieval were often noted in mappaemundi. For further elaboration on this issue, as well as a general discussion of the Hereford map see: Gerald R. Crone, The World Map of Richard of Haldingham in Hereford Cathedral, Reproductions of Early Manuscript Maps, 3, (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1954); -------, "New Light on the Hereford Map," The Geographical Journal, 131/4 (December 1965): 447-462; W. L. Bevan and H.W. Phillott, Mediaeval Geography. An essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi, (1873, rpt. Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing, 1969); Arthur L. Moir, The World Map in Hereford Cathedral, 8th ed. (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral, 1977); and Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 309-312.

72. See, for example the writings of Charles Raymond Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography: A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A.D. 900, 3 vols., (London: J. Murray, 1897-1906).

73. John Kirtland Wright discusses the encyclopedic nature of mappaemundi as visual explanation of theological and cultural beliefs. See, The Geographical Lore.

74. The idea of the narrative function of medieval mappaemundi was introduced as early as the nineteenth century. See W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, Medieval Geography: An Essay of the Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi, (1873, rpt. Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing, 1969). This theme has been enlarged to include the notion of mappaemundi as historical chronicles. See v. den Brincken.

75. Another mappamundi discovered in the Benedictine abbey of Ebsdorf in 1830, was the largest known world map (3.58 X 3.56m). Dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, it showed Jerusalem as a walled city in the center of the map. The figure of Christ appears with his head two hands and feet corresponding to the four cardinal points. This personification transforms the mappamundi into a giant metaphor of the equation between Christ and the world. The map was destroyed in an air raid in 1943. It is known now from a series of photographs taken during its restoration in 1888. For further information on this map see, for example: Richard Drögereit, "Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte und Hildeshiem," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Heimatkunde im Bistum Hildesheim, 44 (1976): 9-44; and Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 307-309, 290-291.

76. Woodward describes it in a more specific light as "the culmination of the Orosian type." History of Cartography, I, 309. The map is dated by inscription and paleographic evidence to the late thirteenth century. Although post dating Modena's sculpture by over a century, the Hereford mappamundi is evidence of the long-standing nature of cultural and religious ideas, as it stands as a culmination, rather than a beginning point in this development. An exploration of the contents and structure of this map allows us, then, to acquaint ourselves with the form of these visual chronicles. For further discussion of the Hereford map see: Crone, as noted in above; -------, "New Light on the Hereford Map," The Geographical Journal, 131/4 (December 1965): 447-462; W. L. Bevan and H.W. Phillott, Mediaeval Geography. An essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi, (1873, rpt. Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing, 1969); Arthur L. Moir, The World Map in Hereford Cathedral, 8th ed. (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral, 1977); and Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 309-312.

77. Few scholars have attempted to answer the question of where such maps were displayed. Moir discusses two possible uses for the Hereford example. According to Moir, the original purpose of the map may have been as a reredos. Chiara Frugoni, sees a similar purpose for the Ebsdorf mappaemundi. Moir cites an antiquarian description of the

Hereford mappaemundi as "an ancient altar-piece." Another possibility suggested by Moir is that the Hereford map was used for educational purposes. In either event, the size and shape of the map clearly implies a public, didactic purpose. See: Moir, World Map, 8; Chiara Frugoni, "Le Metope, ipotesi di un loro significato," by Chiara Frugoni in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 507.

78. The discourse is dated 287 A.D. Eumenius, Oratio pro instaurandis scholis, 20, 21 in R.A.B. Mynors, ed., XII [Duodecim] Panegyrici Latini, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964): 9.4. This document is discussed by Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 290; and Crone, "New Light," 453.

79. C. Grivaud, "Sur les antiquités d'Autun," Annales des voyages, de la géographie, 1810. This citation is discussed by Crone in which he points out that it is unclear whether this reference to a mappamundi had been discovered by Grivaud or merely implied from the known document of Eumenius. See: "New Light," 453.

80. Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de Barberi's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," Art Bulletin, 60/3 (1978): 423-74. See Konrad Miller, Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten, 6 vols, (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895-98): III, 151.

81. Adolf Kazenellenbogen's important article on the central tympanum at Vézelay discusses the appearance of these creatures in connection with issues announced at Modena, including those of the First Crusade. "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relationship to the First Crusade," Art Bulletin, 26 (1944): 141-151. A twelfth-century inventory of the library at Vézelay shows that it contained eight documents which mention the monstrous races. Léopold Delisle, Inventaire des manuscits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Fonds de Cluni (Paris, 1884): no.20, Orosius; no.29, Solinus; no.30, the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus; no. 365, Libri Pronosticon et Ratiocinatio Dindimi et Alexandrum de Gente Brachmanorum; no.392, Isidore of Seville, Etiomologiarum; no.451, Vita Alexandri Macedonis; no.514, Pliny, Naturis Rerum; and no.528, Libri Alexandri Macedonis, 337-373. This observation was first noted by John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981): 230, n.55.
John Beckwith views the sculpture of Autun in similar geographical terms. See: Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque, (London, 1964): 215.

82. G.R. Crone suggests this same correspondence: "The inspiration of this sculpture [Autun] might well be the inspiration of the decoration of the mappa mundi [The Last Judgement] and of some of the vignettes to be found on it." See Crone, "New Light," 453.

83. For further discussion of these mosaics see: Ernst Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics. I. Mosaics at Nikolopos," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 6 (1951): 81-122.

84. Kitzinger employs the translation of O.A.W. Dilke. See Kitzinger, "Nicopolis," n. 28.

85. For further discussion of the Madaba mosaics see, for example: Michael Avi-Yonah, The Madaba Mosaic Map, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1954); Berbert Donner and Heinz Cüppers, Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba, (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins, (Wiesbaden: O. Harassowitz, 1977); and Harley and Woodward, History of Cartography, I, 264-65.

86. This observation is made in History of Cartography, in the section of Byzantine mosaics, authored by O.A. W. Dilke with additional material supplied by the editors, I, 265.

87. These and other such identifications are discussed in History of Cartography, I, 265.

88. De Locis Sanctis, ed., Denis Meehan, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 3 (Dublin, 1958), 1.11, p.57. Adamnan is quoted by Friedman, Monstrous Races, 219 n. 23; and Woodward, History of Cartography, I, 340. Isidore of Seville [Etymologies]; and Rhabanus Maurus [De Universo 12.4 in PL 111, 339] both describe Jerusalem as the center of the earth. See Friedman and Woodward, above, for discussion of this issue.

89. J. H. Bernard, trans., The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, 3 (1893, rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971): 8.

90. A group of large rectangular maps in surviving manuscripts of the Commentary on the Apocalypse of Saint John, by Beatus of Liebana do not show Jerusalem at the center. For further information concerning the Beatus maps see: Marcel Destombes, Mappemondes A.D. 1200-1500: Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964): 40-42 and 79-84. The world map attributed to Henry of Mainz [Cambridge, Library of Corpus Christi Coll., MS

66], and the Vercelli map [Archivio Capitolare del Duomo di Vercelli], both dating from the twelfth century, do not place Jerusalem at the center of the world. For further discussion of these maps see, for Henry of Mainz: Valerie I.J. Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis Imago Mundi," Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age, 57 (1982): 7-153; and for Vercelli: Carlo F. Capello, Il mappomundo medioevale di Vercelli (1191-1218?), Università di Torino, Memorie e Studi Geografici, 10 (Turin: C. Fanton, 1976).

91. See: Titus Tobler and Augustus Moliner, eds., Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae, (Paris: Société de l'Orient Latin, 1879), xxx-xxxiii, 149, 160, 165, 181.

92. Woodward discusses this point in The History of Cartography, 466-7.

93. See Wright, Geographical Lore, 259; and Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 473.

94. Maps of Jerusalem may well have served as their models.

95. For example, a tenth-century map of Verona [Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXIV, fol. 187], an eighteenth-century copy of the lost original; and a twelfth-century map of Rome [Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS c246 fol. 3v]. The third, a map of Venice, survives in three fourteenth-century copies. For further discussion of the Verona map, see: Vittorio Cavallari, Piero Gazzola, and Antonio Scolari, eds., Verona e il suo territorio, 2 vols. (Verona: Istituto per gli Studi Storici Veronesi, 1964): II, 39-42. For discussion of the map of Rome, see: Annalina Levi and Mario Levi, "The Medieval Map of Rome in the Ambrosian Library's Manuscript of Solinus," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 118 (1974): 567-94. For discussion of the map of Venice see: Juergen Schulz, "The Printed Plans and Panoramic Views of Venice (1486-1797)," Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte, 7 (1970): 9-182.

96. Florence, Archivio di Stato. See Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde as dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 14 (1981): 8-11.

97. Roberto Almagià, "Un'antica carta del territorio di Asti," Rivisita Geografica Italiana, 58 (1951): 43-44.

98. For further discussion of the Italian mapping tradition see: Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 476-480.

99. The map dates from 1119. For further information on this map see: Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, II, 632-33.

100. For further information on the Vercelli map see: Carlo F. Capello, Il mappomundo medioevale di Vercelli (1191-1218?).

101. Crone has suggested the image represents the laity in contrast to the imperial image on the opposite side of the map. See: "New Light," 448. Other researchers have hinted at the connection with ideas of authorship. Bevan and Phillott referred to mappaemundi as "illustrated romances." Mediaeval Geography, xxi.

102. "Tuz ki cest estoire ont
Ou oyront ou lirront ou veront
Prient a Ihesu en deyte
De Richard de Haldingham e de Lafford eyt pite
Ki lat fet e compasse
Ki ioie en cel li seit done."
A transcription from the standard facsimile of this map by Gerald R. Crone, The World Map of Richard of Haldingham in Hereford Cathedral. Scholars now generally agree upon the identity of Richard of Haldingham as being a certain Richard de Bello, prebend of Sleaford (Lafford) in the diocese of Lincoln in 1277, and/or a Richard de Bello, prebend of Norton in the diocese of Hereford in 1305. For further discussion on the authorship of this map, see: W.N. Yates, "The Authorship of the Hereford Mappa Mundi and the Career of Richard de Bello," Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalist's Field Club, 41 (1974): 165-72; Noël Denholm-Young, "The Mappa Mundi of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford," Speculum, 32 (1957): 307-14.

103. "Ite in orbem universum et de omni ejus continentia referte ad senatum, et ad istam confirmandam huic scripto sigillum meum apposui" "-S. Augusti Cesaris Imperatoris"

104. "Lucas in evvangelio. Exiit edictum ab Augusto Cesare ut describeretur huniversus orbis."

105. "A Julio Cesare orbis terrarum metiri cepti. A Nicodoxo omnis oriens dimensus est. A Teodoto septentrion et occidens dimensus est. A Policlito meridiana pars dimensus est." This measurement of the world by Julius Caesar may refer to an allusion made by Pliny concerning a large world map made by Vipsanius Agrippa, which was displayed in Rome at the time of the Emperor Augustus. See Charles Raymond Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography: I, 382; and Crone, "New Light," 448.

106. The idea of a earthly location of Paradise persisted into the age of exploration. Christopher Columbus believed he had discovered the island of Paradise when he reported seeing four rivers on his third journey in 1498. See: Samuel E. Morrison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea: Christopher Columbus, 2 vols., (Boston: Little Brown, 1942): II, 283.

107. The legend of the Dry Tree is told in Moir, 29.

108. See Crone, "New Light," 448-453, and 456. Although the map shows the towns along the Via Emilia, Modena is not among them. For further discussion of ancient and medieval itinerary maps see, for example: Luciano Bosio, La Tabula Peutingeriana: Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico, I, Monumenti dell'Arte Classico, vol. 2 (Rimini: Maggioli, 1983); O.A.W. Dilke, Greek and Roman Maps, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985); and P.D.A. Harvey, The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures and Surveys, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

109. "orrea Josephi"

110. "hic congregatus populus Israel in Ramesse: exiit de Egypto altera die post pascha."

111. See Michael Camille's discussion of the equation between Jew, Muslim, heretic and Satan in the similar image of Mohammed in manuscript illustrations. The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 142-151.

112. For example, the ancient legend of the minotaur is told in the Hereford map, where the island of Crete recalls the form of Daedalus' labyrinth. The Irish legend of the sixth century monk, St. Brandan's search for Paradise appears through the inscription of an island off the eastern coast of Africa. Labeled "Fortunate Insule: sex sunt: insule Sancti Brandani."

113. The nations of Gog and Magog are mentioned in Ezekiel 38:1-9 and Revelations 20:7-8. For further discussion of the legends surrounding Alexander in the Middle Ages see, for example: Andrew R. Anderson, Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations, (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1932); and W. J. Aerts, et al., eds., Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages: Ten Studies on the Last Days of Alexander in Literary and Historical Writing, Symposium Interfacultaire Werkgroep Mediaevistiek, Groningen, 12-15 October 1977, (Nijmegen: Alfa Nijmegen, 1978).

114. David Woodward credits Graham Haslam, the archivist of the Duchy of Cornwall for the information on this map. The History of Cartography, I, 307.

115. See Moir, The World Map, 38-39, for a summary of these creatures.

116. For further discussion of such imagery in Romanesque art see: the many publications of G. C. Druce concerning English church decoration, for example: "The Mediaeval bestiaries, and their influence on ecclesiastical decorative art," Journal of the British Archaeological Association, (December, 1919 and December 1920); --------, "Some Abnormal and Composite Human Forms in English Church Architecture, Archaeological Journal 72, 2nd ser. (1915): 135-186;V. -H. Debidour, Le Bestiaire sculpté en France, (Mulhouse, 1961); G. Jeanneney, "La Tératologie dans l'art," La Chronique Médicale 30 (1923): 129-38; Robert-Pierre Fricaud, Les Malades et les monstres dans la sculture médiévale (Bordeaux, 1933); Francis D. Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971); Beryl Rowland, Animals with Human Faces, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973); Edward P. Evans, Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture, (1896, rpt. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1969).

117. Two important exceptions to the practice of not separating the humanoid creatures from bestiary images are: Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942): 159-197; and Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought. I employ the phrase, coined by Friedman, "monstrous," to describe these creatures, for, as Friedman notes, it was the most common description of them in the Middle Ages.

118. Friedman makes this point, citing St. Augustine and the thirteenth-century writer Vincent of Beauvais. The Monstrous Races: 3.

119. For a discussion of the medieval understanding of these creatures see, in addition to Wittkower and Friedman, Bruno Ray, "En marge du monde connu: Les races de monstres," in Guy -H. Allards et al., eds., Aspects de la marginalité au Moyen Age, (Montreal, 1975): 71-81.

120. Ctesias, a physician at the Persian court, lived in the early fifth century B.C.E., and wrote his impression of the East in a text called Indika. This text has not survived. His work is known from a text, Bibliotheka, written by Photius of Constantinople. For a modern edition of Ctesais see: R. Henry, ed., Ctésias, La Perse, L'Inde:

Les Sommaires de Photius, (Brussels, 1947). For an english version of Indika see: John Waston McCrindle, trans., Ancient India, as Described by Ktesias the Knidian, (rpt. New Delhi, 1973).
Megasthenes was sent as Greek emissary to India in the fourth century B.C.E. For an english version of his writings see: John Watson McCrindle, ed. and trans., Megasthenes and Arrian, (rpt., New Delhi, 1972).
These writers are discussed by Friedman, Monstrous Races: 5-6.

121. See, for example: Charles G. Nauert, "C. Plinius Secundus (Naturalis Historia)," in Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed. Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Translations and Commentaries, 4 (Washington, D.C., 1979): 296-422. For discussion of Pliny's Natural History see: H.N. Wethered, The Mind of the Ancient World: A Consideration of Pliny's Natural History, (London and New York, 1937); and John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981): 5-25. For an english translation of Natural History see: H. Rackham, ed. and trans., Pliny: The Natural History, LCL, (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

122. For further discussion of the ancient and medieval Alexander legend see: D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus, (London, 1963); W. J. Aerts et al., eds., Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages, (Nijmegen, 1978); and Friedman, Monstrous Races: 6-7, 8-21.
The medieval romance of Alexander the Great and his connections to medieval apocalyptic notions, which we have previously discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation, gives added meaning, as we shall see, to his discussion of the exotic races of India. For pertinent bibliography please refer to chapter 2.

123. This connection between the figures in the inhabited vine at Modena and images of exotic races and bestiaries has been noted by Enrico Castelnuovo in the catalog notes on the west facade and in his article in the same publication, "Flores Cum beluis Comixtos."

124. Thought to have lived in the mountains of India, the cynocephali, considered excellent hunters, communicated by barking. These creatures are mentioned in the accounts of Ctesais and the Alexander cycles. This popular monstrous race was sometimes associated with Islam. See J.B. Harley and David Woodward, The History of Cartography, 332. I have chosen to employ Friedman's catalog descriptions of these creatures, which he derives from Pliny. For further references see Friedman, Monstrous Races, 9-21.

125. This equation was seen as well by Castelnuovo. The Indian sciopods were one-footed but thought to be extremely swift. A charming, as well as practical characteristic of these creatures was their habit of lying on their backs protecting their heads from the sun with their singular foot.

126. The ancient Roman god, the guardian of time and doorways, he was thought to open and close the gates of Heaven each morning and evening. A god connected with beginnings, he played a role in the creation of the world. The image of Janus Bifrons was seen throughout the Middle Ages, most often as the personification of January in the Labors of the Months, for example at Ferrara and Parma. Didron cites examples at Chartres, Strasbourg, Amiens and St. Denis. Adolphe Napoleon Didron, Christian Iconography. The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. [1886], trans. E. J. Millington; completed with additions and appendices Margaret Stokes (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965): II, 23-24. See, as well: Gertrude Jobes, The Dictionary of Mythology Folklore and Symbols (New York: the Scarecrow Press, 1961): 864-65; and James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (London: John Murray, 1974): 167.

127. The original metopes were removed to the Museo Lapidario in 1950. The copies which currently appear on the cathedral were crafted at that time by Arrigo Boccalari. For a discussion of these metopes, their history and meaning see the catalog notes and article by Chiara Frugoni, "Le Metope, ipotesi di un loro significato," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo.

128. Quintavalle, who sees much of the exterior sculpture at Modena as repositioned from the interior believes the metopes were originally located on the transverse arch of the nave. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, La cattedrale di Modena: problemi di romanico emiliano, 2 vols. (Modena: Editrice Bassi & Nipoti, 1964-65): 206.

129. Krautheimer-Hess and Toesca date the works to the second half of the twelfth century. De Francovich gives a date of 1130-35 and Quintavalle's dating is 1125-30.

130. Michael Ann Holly discusses this equivalency in her article on the historiography of Burckhardt, "Past Looking," Critical Inquiry 16, (1990).

131. This misperception of context as being out of the reach of interpretation is discussed by Culler. See: Framing the Sign, xiv.

132. The work has been edited by Corrado Bologna in 'Liber Monstrorum de diversis generibus.' Libro delle mirabili difformità. (Milan: Bompiani, 1977). For discussion of this text see: Friedman, Monstrous Races: 149-53. A recent new discovery of the work at St. Gallen is discussed by Ann Knock, "The 'Liber Monstrorum': An Unpublished Manuscript and Some Reconsiderations," Scriptorum, 32 (1978): 19-28.

133. The Celtic implications in this text are discussed by Leslie Whitbread, "The 'Liber Monstrorum' and 'Beowulf,'" Mediaeval Studies, 36 (1974). Friedman notes the decidedly negative portrayal of these creatures in the Liber. Giving several examples, he cites the use of the word invisum or hostile to describe the traditionally harmless pygmies. Friedman, Monstrous Races, 151.

134. Friedman, Monstrous Races, 149.

135. Many of the capitals which appear on Modena's exterior depict, as well, these monstrous races. It is not my intent here to cite every possible example to "prove" my thesis, thus, I have chosen to narrow my discussion of this monstrous races at Modena to the metopes. For further discussion of these capitals see, for example: Enrica Pagella catalog notes on the capitals in Lanfranco e Wilgelmo, 476-77.

136. Liber Monstrorum chapter 15.

137. Friedman notes this important element of geography in his discussion. See Monstrous Races, 150.

138. Liber Monstrorum chapter 6 and chapter 8.

139. For example, the mosaic apse of S. Clemente announced the power of the Church through the image of the True Cross seen arising out of the inhabited acanthus vine.
For a full discussion of this legend and bibliography see: Esther Casier Quinn, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

140. The reliefs have been dated from the end of the eleventh century to no later than 1140. A major controversy surrounding this sculpture concerns their original placement. Archaeological, stylistic, and documentary evidence has been enlisted on both sides to prove either that the reliefs were originally intended for the West Facade, as Salvini and his supporters contend, or, as Quintavalle and his followers argue, that they were moved to that position from their original placement on the interior ambo.

The controversy is discussed in chapter one of this dissertation. When one adds to these investigations considerations concerning the cultural framing of these reliefs -- how were they understood and received by the twelfth century and how they, in turn, communicated their story -- the visual structure and content of the sculpted friezes on the cathedral's west facade demonstrates that this was their original placement.
In addition to the placement controversy, the bibliography concerning these reliefs include: Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture, III, "Modena Cathedral;" Emile Mâle, "L'architecture et la sculpture en Lombardie," Gazette des Beaux Arts 4th ser. 14 (1918): 35-46, gives a late date of 1140. Trude Krautheimer-Hess, "Die figurale Plastik der Ostombardei von 1100 bis 1178," Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, (1928): 289-291; P. Toesca, Storia dell'arte italiano. Il Medioevo (Turin, 1927); F. Arcangeli, Natura ed espressione nell'arte bolognese-emiliana (Bologna, 1970); Geza de Francovich, "Wilgelmo da Modena e gli inizione della scultura romanica in Francia e in Spagna," Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, VII (1940): 225-294; Whitney S. Stoddard, The Facade of St.-Gilles-du-Gard, (Middletown, 1973), who dates the sculptures to after the 1117 earthquake.
More recent scholarship includes: Francesco Gandolfo, "Note per una interpretazione;" Chiara Frugoni, "Le lastre veterotestamentarie e il programma della facciata," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: 422-31.

141. Francesco Gandolfo has discussed the Genesis cycle in relationship to the Commune's political realignment with Papal authority. See for example: "Note per una interpretazione;" --------, "Il 'protiro lombardo.' una ipostesi di formazione," Storia dell'Arte (1978): 211-223; "La Scultura romanica nell'area estense," in L'arte Sacra nei Ducati Estensi, (Ferrara, 1984): 100-101; "Problemi della cattedrale di Modena," Commentari, ns 24 (1973): 131-147; and "Il cantiere dell'architetto Lanfranco e la cattedrale del vescovo Eriberto," Arte Medievale, II ser., 3/1 (1989): 29-47. Enrico Castelnuovo discusses the iconography of the facade sculpture in terms of its redemptive message: "Marmoribus Sculptis Domus Haec Micat Undique Pulchris," in Lanfranco e Wiligelmo; and Chiara Frugoni discusses the connections between the iconography and the medieval Play of Adam: "Le lastre."

142. See: William Roach, ed., The Didot Perceval According to the MSS of Modena and Paris, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941); and Bernard Cerquiglini, ed., Robert de Boron, Le Roman du Graal, (Paris: Bibliothèque Médiévale, 1981): 197-302. For an english translation of the Modena manuscript see: Dell Skeels, trans., The Romance

of Perceval in Prose, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, 15 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961).

143. For further discussion of the connection between Arthurian romance and the legend of Seth see: Jessie L. Weston, "The Apple Mystery in Arthurian Romance," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, IX (1925): 417-30; E. Brugger, The Illuminated Tree in Two Arthurian Romances, (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1929); Eleanor Simons Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," Traditio, X (1954): 323-71; Roger Sherman Loomis, Arthurian Legend and Chrétien de Troyes, (New York, 1949).

144. In certain versions of this story the Sibyl is conflated with the Queen of Sheba. Such conflations often occurred in these legends when characters were seen to share similar traits and names. For further discussion of the Sibyl-Queen of Sheba see: Esther Casier Quinn, The Quest of Seth, 61, 73.

145. See, for example, Honorius of Regensburg, Lucidarius 1.15 in PL, 172: 119-120.

146. See B. Guenée, "Histoires, annales, chroniques: Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age," Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilsations, 28 (1973): 997-1016.

147. See Friedman, Monstrous Races, 93-94; and R.A. Wisbey, "Marvels of the East in the Wiener Genesis and in Wolfram's Parzival," in William Robson-Scott, ed., Essays in German and Dutch Literature, (London, 1973): 1-41. For a modern edition of this work see: Kathryn Smits, ed., Die frümittlehochdeutsche Wiener Genesis, (Berlin, 1972).

148. Moir, The World Map in Hereford Cathedral, 27.

149. Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore of Seville are but a few Church fathers who made the equation between Cain and the Jews, in which the mark of Cain is the circumsion. See Ruth Melinkoff, The Mark of Cain, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981): 92-98. For further discussion of this issue see: Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English," Publications of the Modern language Association, 2 (1906): 831-929; and Friedman, Monstrous Races: 87-107.

150. Bartolocci quotes from the rabbinic tradition which connects the two directly. "Ingreditur ad Evam equitans super serpentem, et gravidavit eam Caino." Bartolocci, Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica, I, 291.

151. This story is rehearsed in a manuscript, originally thought to be an ancient Midrash, but now considered to be a fundamental Cabbalistic text written in the thirteenth century, The Zohar. See Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, trans., The Zohar, 5 vols. (1934, rpt. London and Jerusalem, 1973): 1.54a, I, 172. For discussion of this text see: Ruth Melinkoff, The Mark of Cain, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981): 12; Friedman, Monstrous Races: 95; and J. M. Evans, Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition, (Oxford, 1968): 36-37, 55.

152. A.L. Moir, The World Map in Hereford Cathedral, eighth ed., (Hereford: The Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1079).

153. "Et posuit Dominus signum in Cain, ut uerbi gratia, tremulo corpore uiueret uel cornu in fronte gestaret uel tale quid, quod non ex auctoritate Scripturae sed ex iudaicis fabulis est." Rupert of Deutz, De Santa Trinitate in PL, 167, 335. This issue is discussed by Friedman, 96; and Melinkoff, 74. I have used Melinkoff's translation here.

154. Friedman, Monstrous Races, 98-99.

155. For further discussion on the story of Noah see: Jack P. Lewis, A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature, (Leiden, 1968); and Don Cameron Allen, The Legend of Noah, (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963).

156. See the translation cited by Friedman,in James Carney, Studies in Irish Literature and History, (Dublin, 1955): 109-110.

157. See B. Carra de Vaux, ed. and trans., L'Abrégé des merveilles, (Paris, 1898): 99, 137, for the translation of the travels of the eleventh-century Arab, Ibrihim ben Wasif Sah. See Friedman, Monstrous Races 100-101, 236 n.56 for further discussion on this subject.

158. The Pseudo-Aethicus in the Cosmographia: "the Moors are from the line of Ham." Alexander Reise, Geographi Latini minores, 1878; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964): 71-103. Friedman cites a French version of Mandeville's Travels, Fitzwilliam Library, Additional MS 23, in which the great Khan of the Tatar Empire is equated with Ham. Monstrous Races, 103, 237 n.68; and a Provençal text in which Ham is equated with the Saracen: "Whence come Saracens?" "From Caym." Monstrous Races, 103, 237 n. 70.

159. The orthography of Ham and Cain help to link and confuse one with the other. William Wilson Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracen in the French Epic," Papers of

the Modern Language Association, 55 (1940): 629, 652.

160. F. Klaeber, ed., Beowulf (London, 1963): ll. 100-114 and 1259-1268. For further discussion of this issue see: Nilo Peltola, "Grendel's Descent from Cain Reconsidered," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 73 (1972): 284-291; Stephen C. Bandy, "Cain, Grendel, and the Giants of Beowulf," Papers on Language and Literature, 9 (1973):235-249; Ruth Melinkoff, "Cain's monstrous progeny in Beowulf" part I, Noachic tradition," Anglo-Saxon England, 8 (1979): 143-162; -------, "Cain's monstrous progeny in Beowulf: part II, post-deluvian survival," Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (1980): 183-197; Emerson, "Legends of Cain," 878-885; and Friedman, Monstrous Races, 103-107.
Friedman discusses the use of the reading "Camp" for Cain as evidence of the equation between Cain and Ham.

161. Frugoni relates the division of the quote from John to the joining of Old and New Testament revelation. See: "Le lastre."

162. Gandolfo sees this image as unique to Modena. The grasping of Eve's wrist being a change from examples in which Adam's creation is shown in this fashion. See: "Note per una interpretazione."

163. Please refer to chapter 2 of this dissertation for a discussion of this image and its relationship to the two side portals.

164. Apocalypsis Mosis, 28; I Enoch, 25; and the Testament of Levi, 18:10-11 in R. H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudephigrapha of the Old Testament, (Oxford, 1913): II, 148, 204-5, and 315. For further discussion of this apocryphal story see: Quinn, Quest of Seth, 27.

165. Gandolfo discusses this rare iconography. He cites the altar front at Salerno, and the twelfth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript, The Paraphrases of Aelfric, as examples which show Eve toiling. See "Note per una interpretazione," for specific cites.

166. Seen in the Genesis cycle of the eighth century in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome. "Note per una interpretazione."

167. See: "Le lastre,"

168. For further discussion of the play of Adam see, for example: W. Noomen, "Le Jeu d'Adam. Etude descriptive et analytique," Romania, 89 (1968): 145-198; T. Hunt, "The Unity of the Play of Adam," Romania, 96 (1975): 368-88, 497-527.

169. The scene of the sacrifice often was interpreted at this time as a reference to the correct offering, or tithing, to the Church. In this scene, Christ, placed between the figures of Cain and Abel, is seated on a throne, and held aloft by a kneeling atlante figure. The impression is given than that the sacrifices are being offered specifically at a church altar. In a community such as Modena, in which conflicts between the Church and the Commune were at issue, such a reference to the authority of the cathedral over the authority of the Commune would not have gone unnoticed. The inscription confirms this as it reads: PRIMUS ABEL UISTUS DEFERT PLACABILE MANUS. Pearl F. Braude develops this theme and notions of Cain as heretic and Jew in her article, "'Cokkel in Oure Clene Corn': Some Implications of Cain's Sacrifice," Gesta, 7 (1968): 15-28.

170. For further discussion of the iconography of Cain, see: Paul-Henri Michel, "Iconographie de Cäin et Abel," Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 1 (1958): 194-99. For discussion of the connections between Cain and the monstrous races see above.

171. For further discussion of the death of Abel see: Meyer Schapiro, "Cain's Jaw-Bone That Did the First Murder," Art Bulletin, 24/3 (1942): 205-212. Reprinted in Meyer Schapiro, Late Antique, Early Christian and Mediaeval Art. Selected Papers, (New York: George Braziller, 1979): 249-265.

172. For further discussion of the story of Lamech see: E. Reiss, "The Story of Lamech and Its Place in Medieval Drama," Journal of Medieval nd Renaissance Studies, 2 (1972): 35-48. See Friedman, Monstrous Races, for bibliography of major patristic references, 23 n.36.

173. The legend is found in the apocrypha of Rashi. See: James H. Lowe, trans., "Rashi" on the Pentateuch: Genesis, (London, 1928): 89.

174. Other scholars have noted this similarity, see for example: Gandolfo, "Note per una interpretazione."

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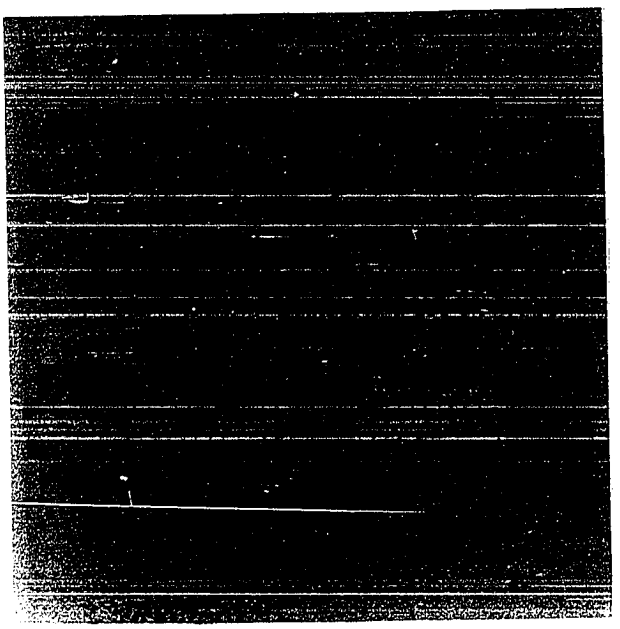
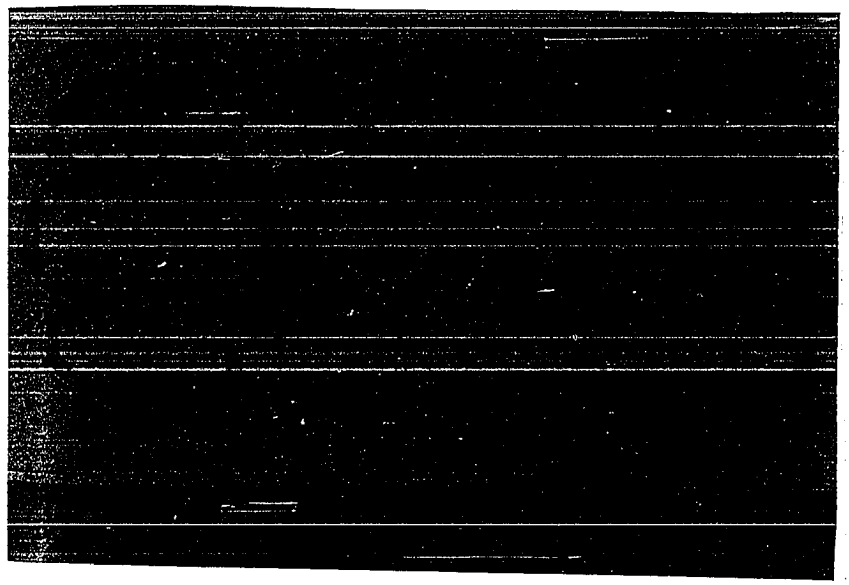


figure 1



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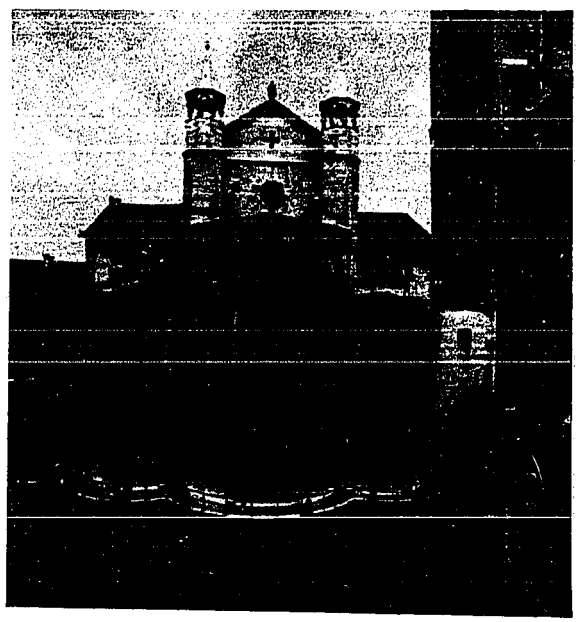

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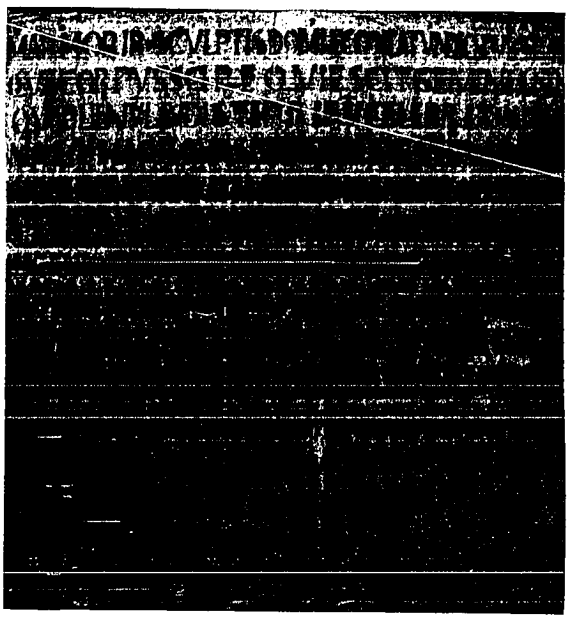

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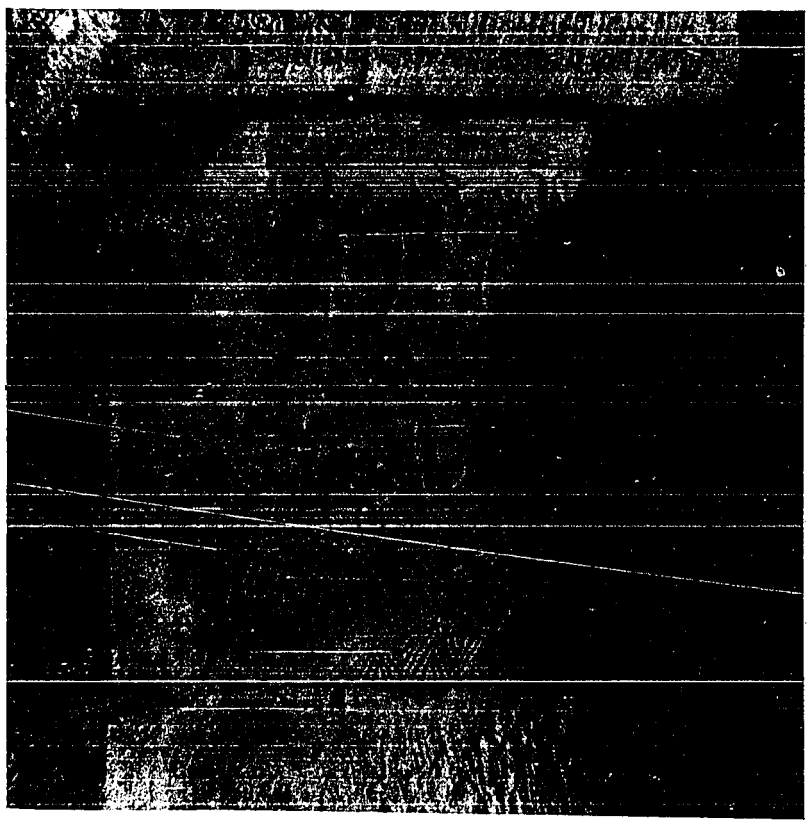


figure 8

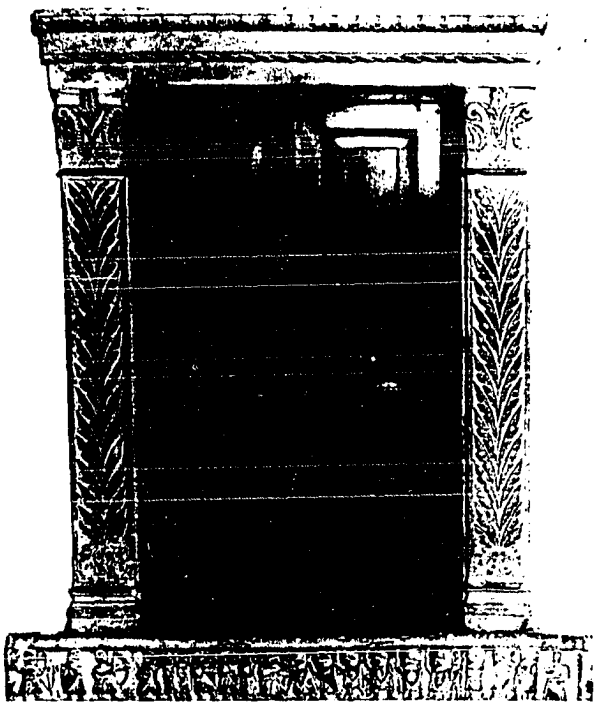
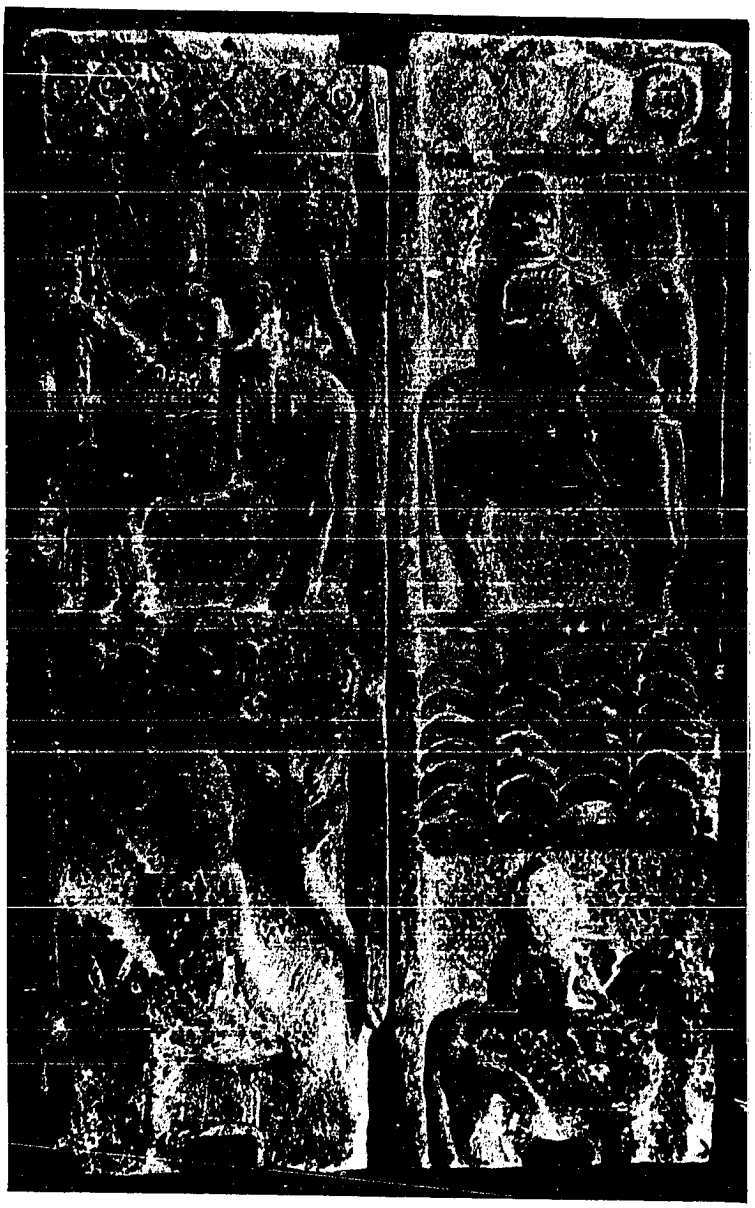


figure 9



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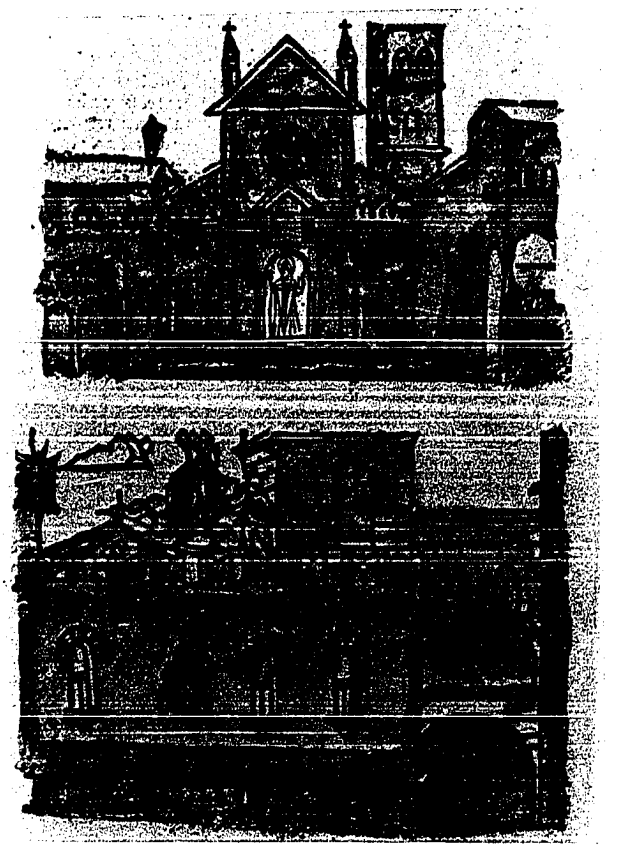

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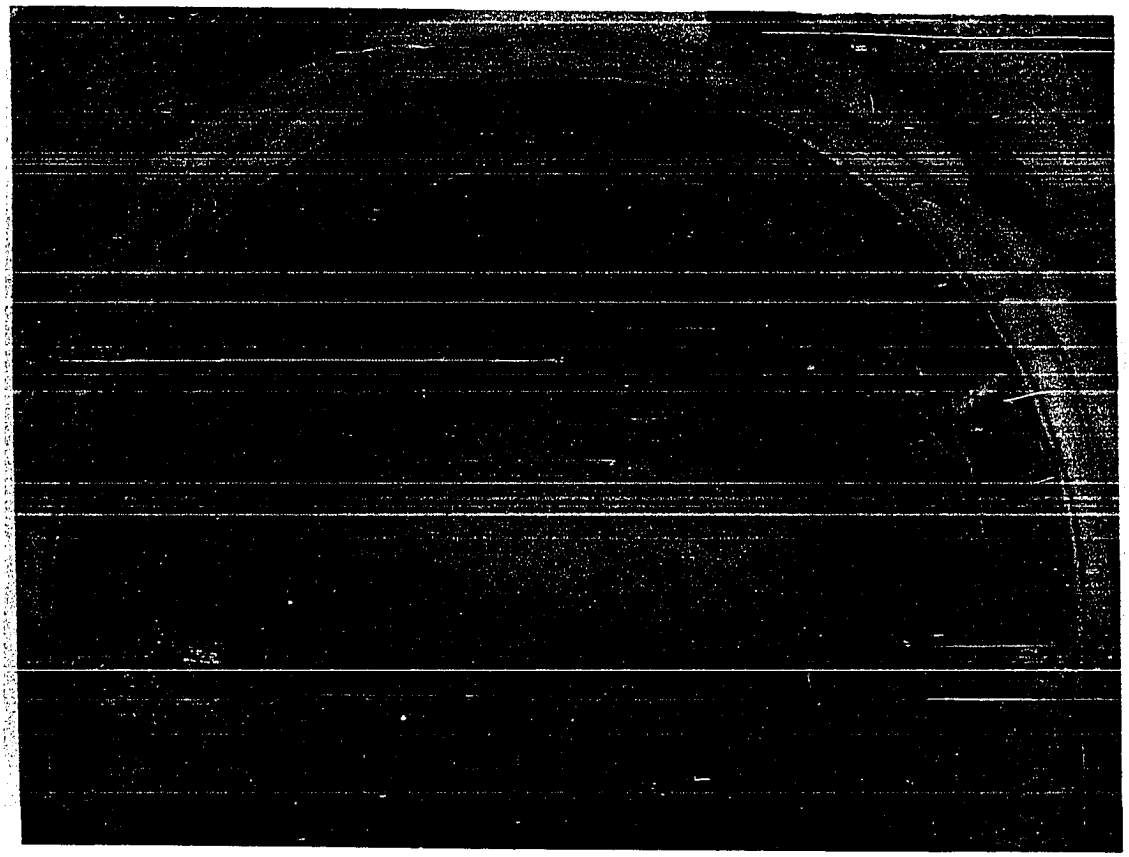

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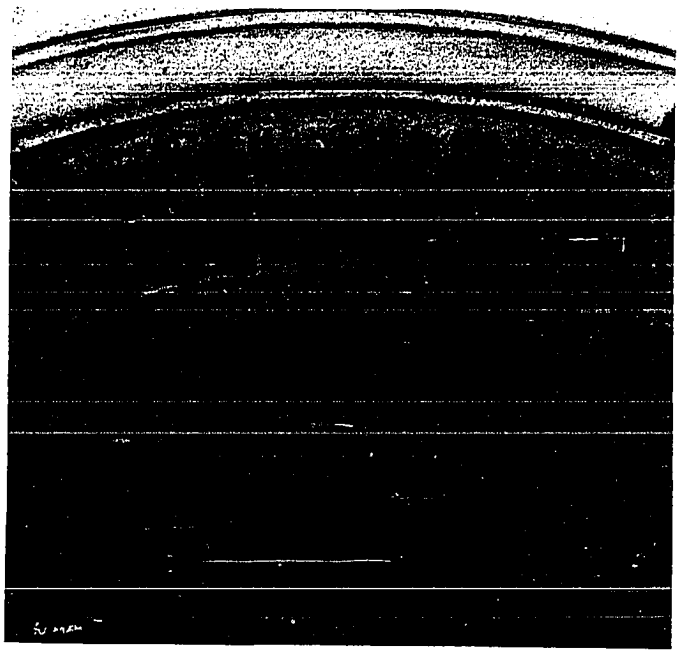

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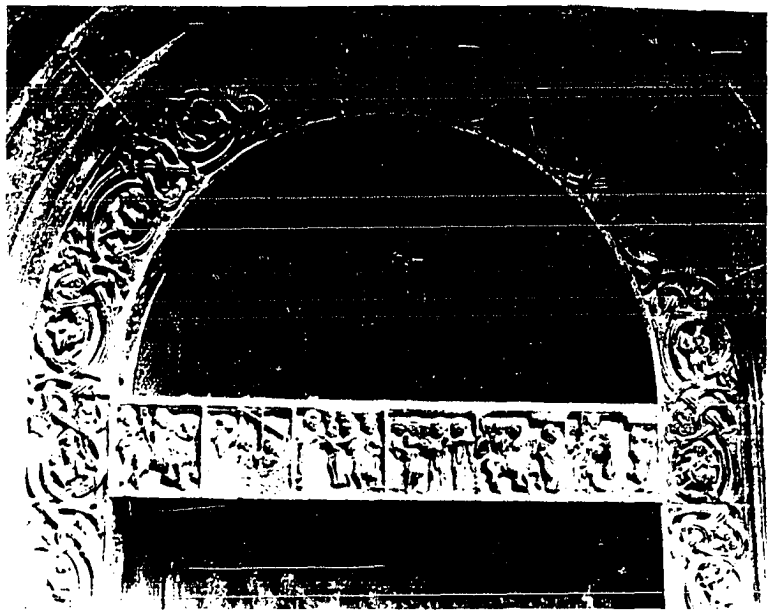

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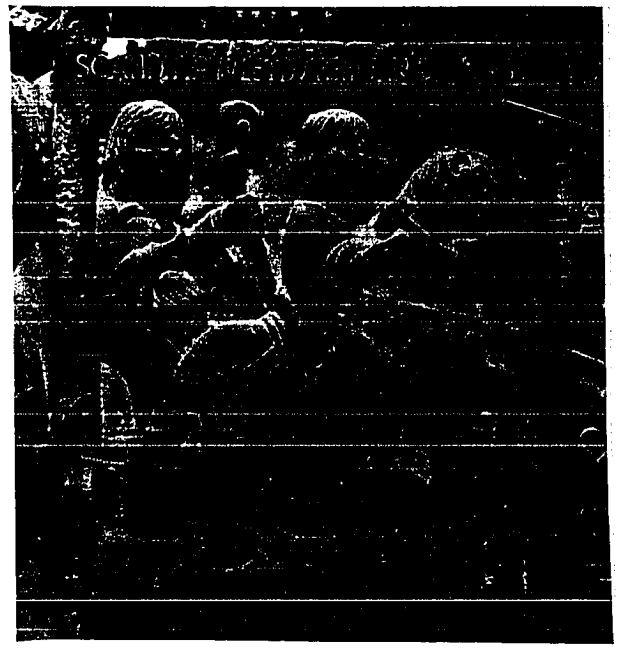

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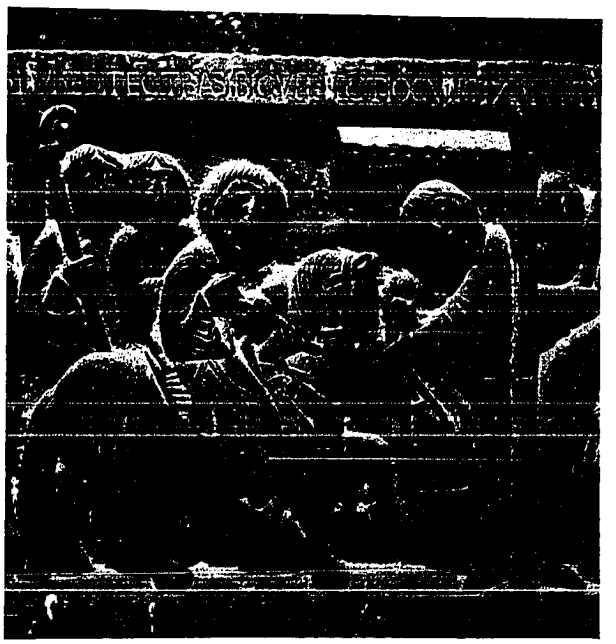

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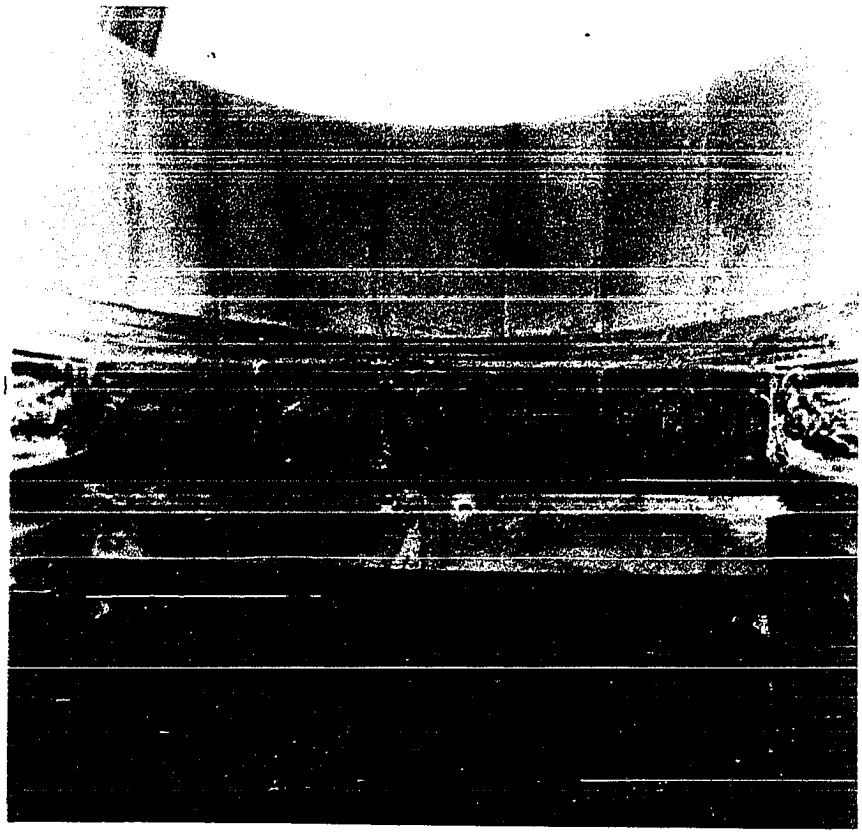

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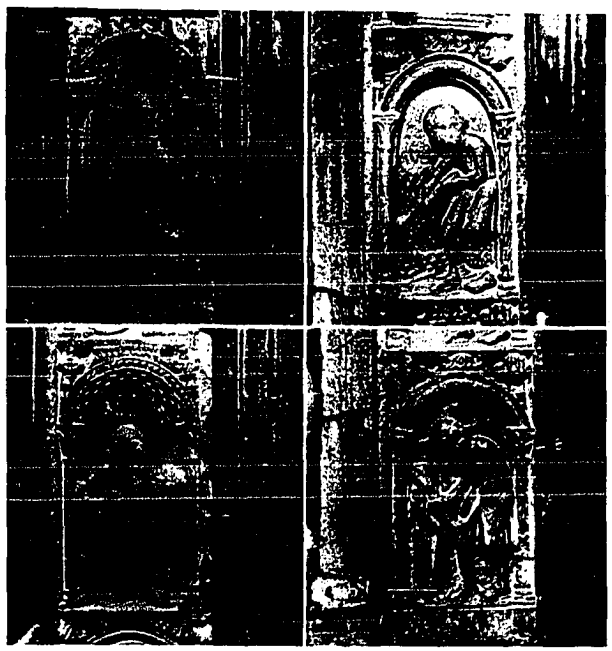

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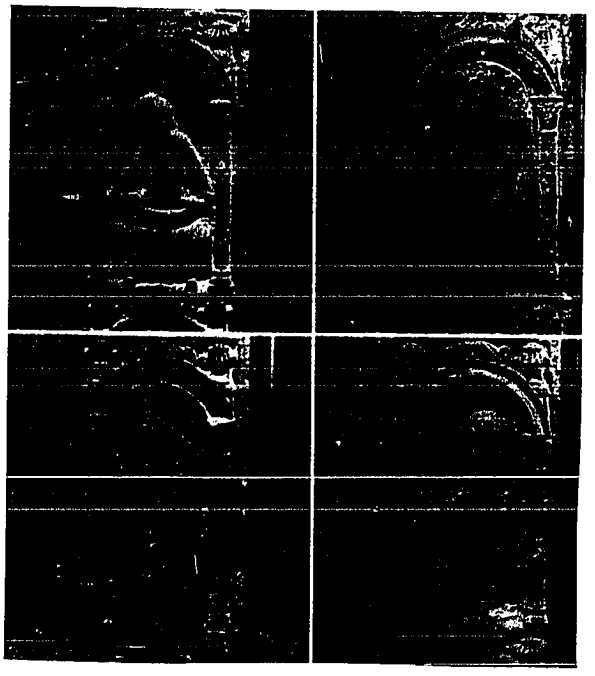

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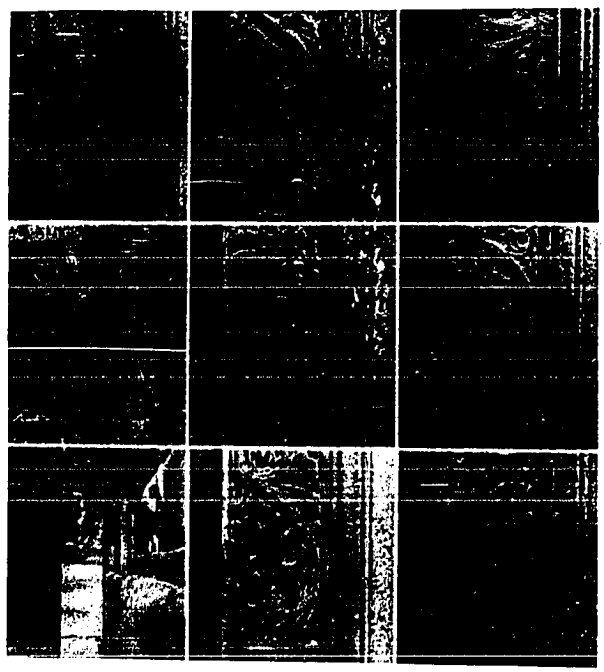

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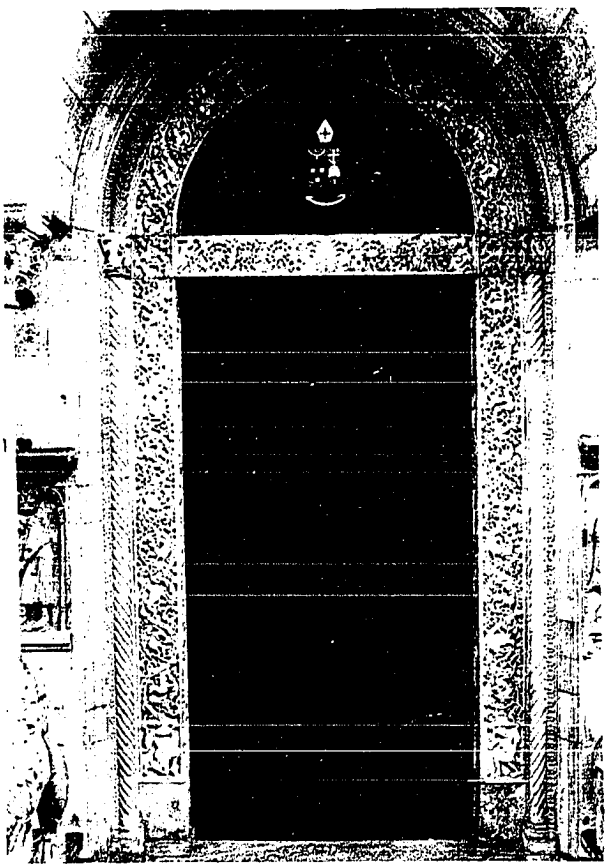

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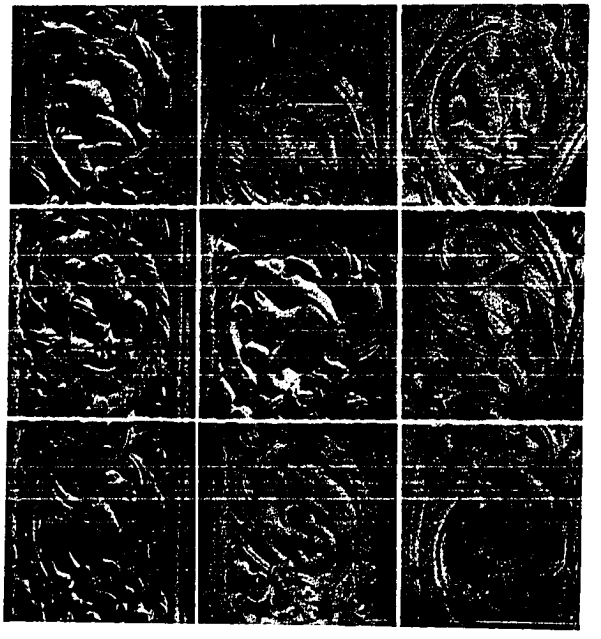

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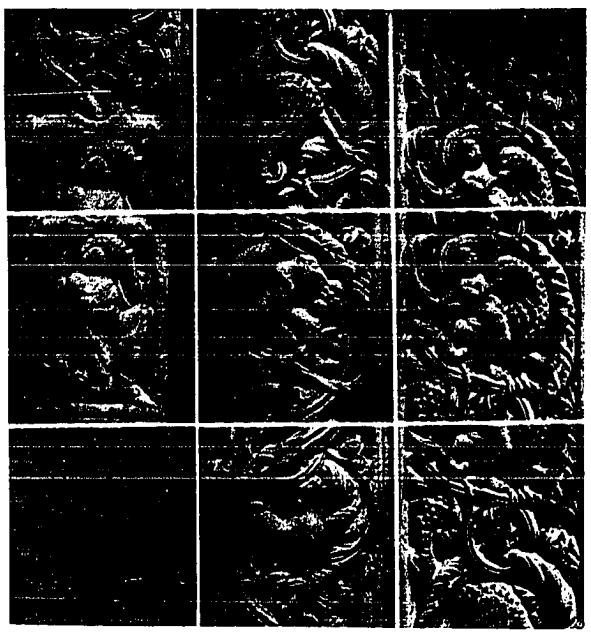

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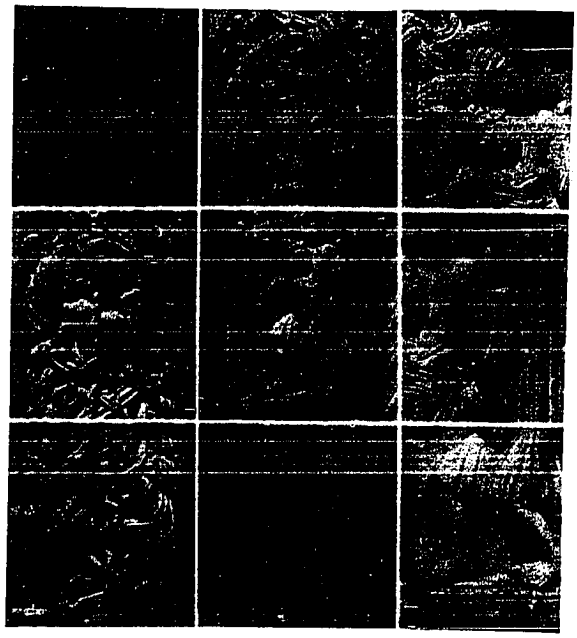

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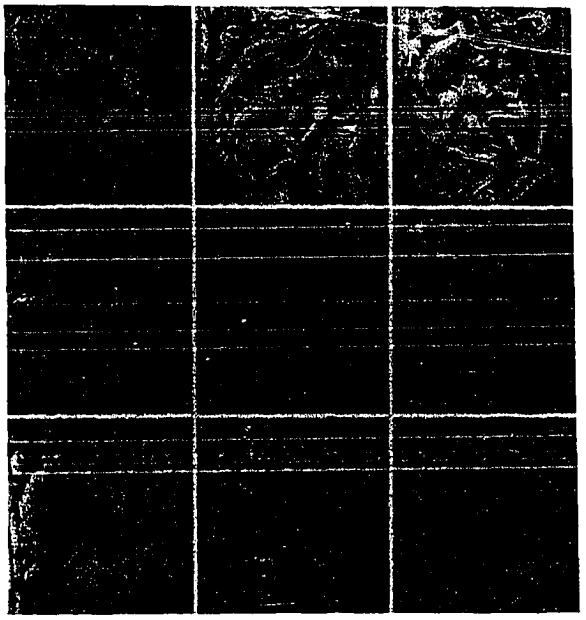

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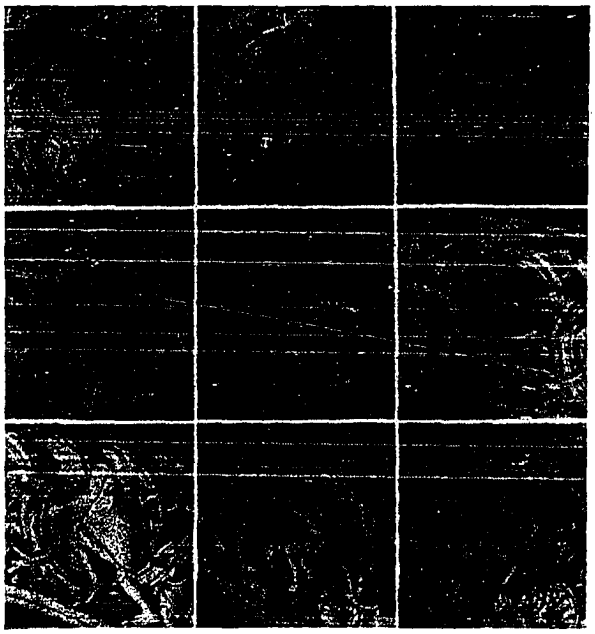

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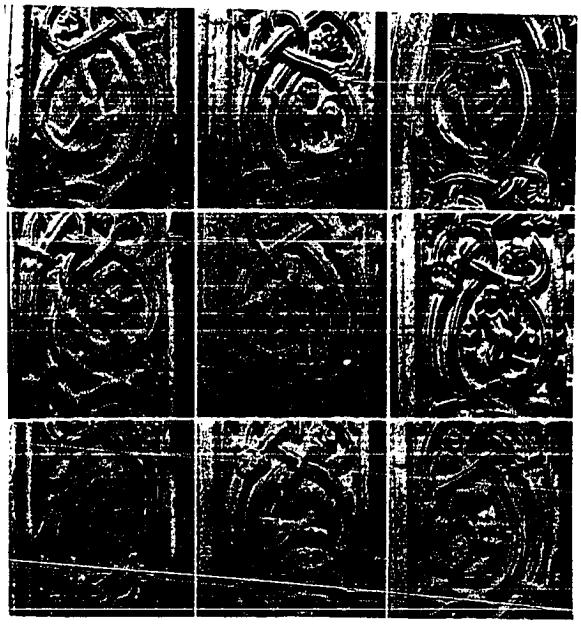

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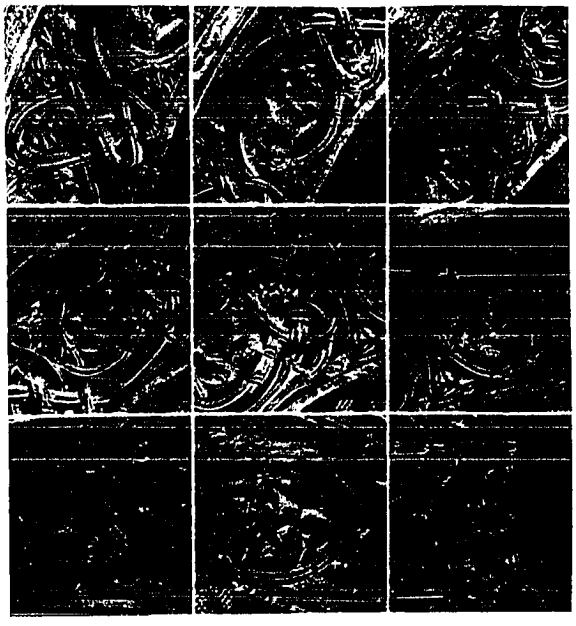

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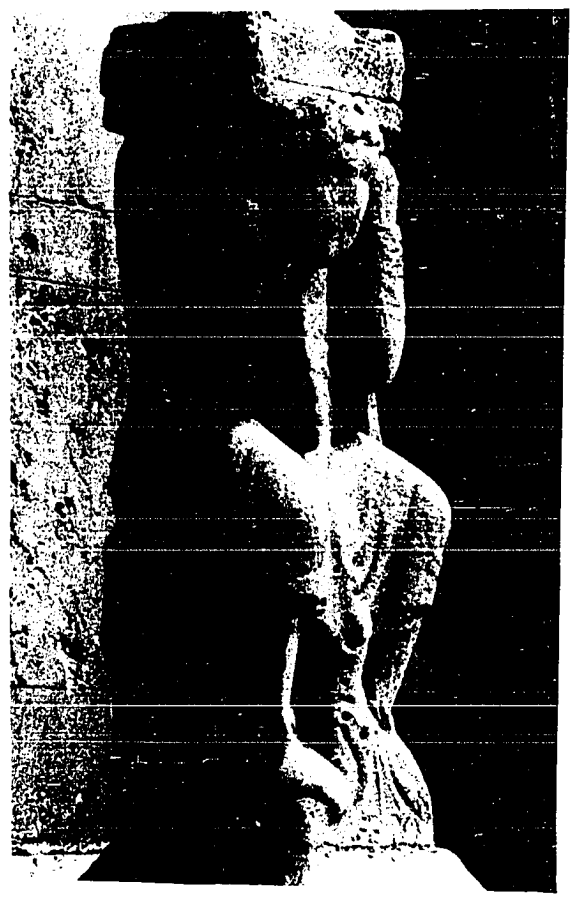

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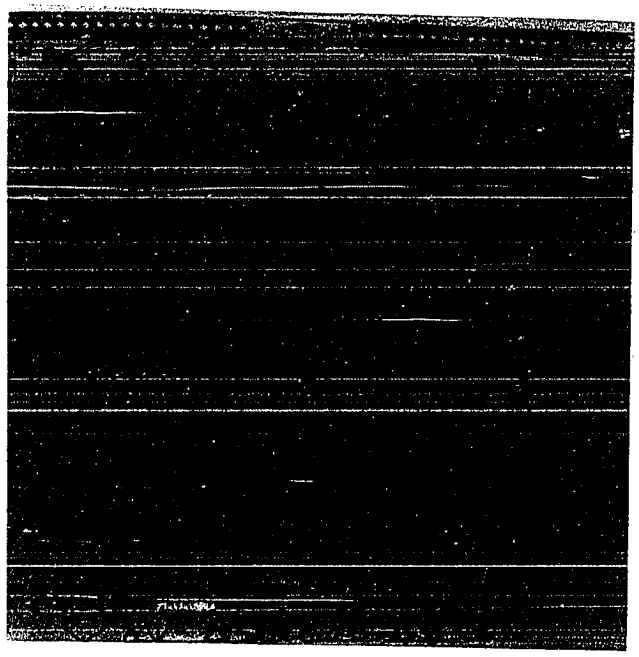

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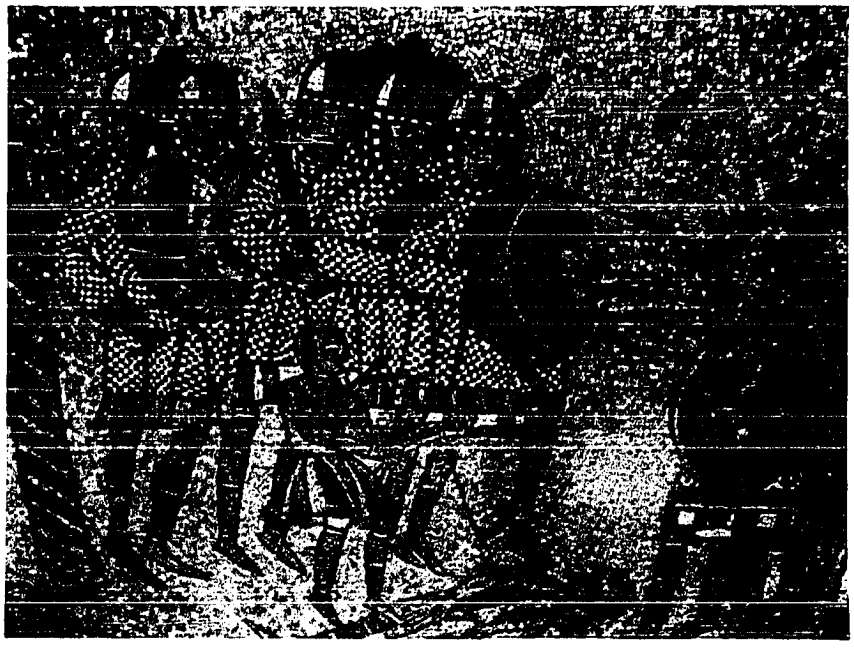

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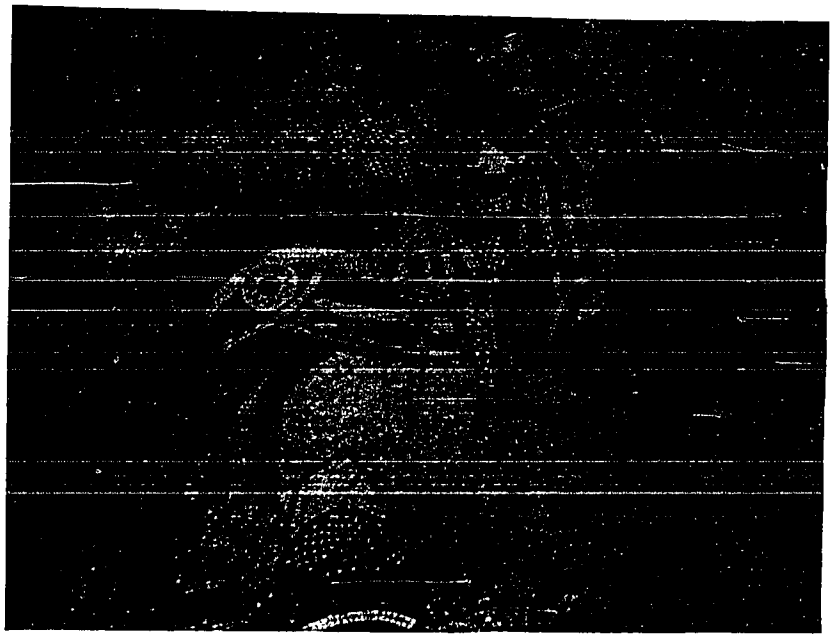

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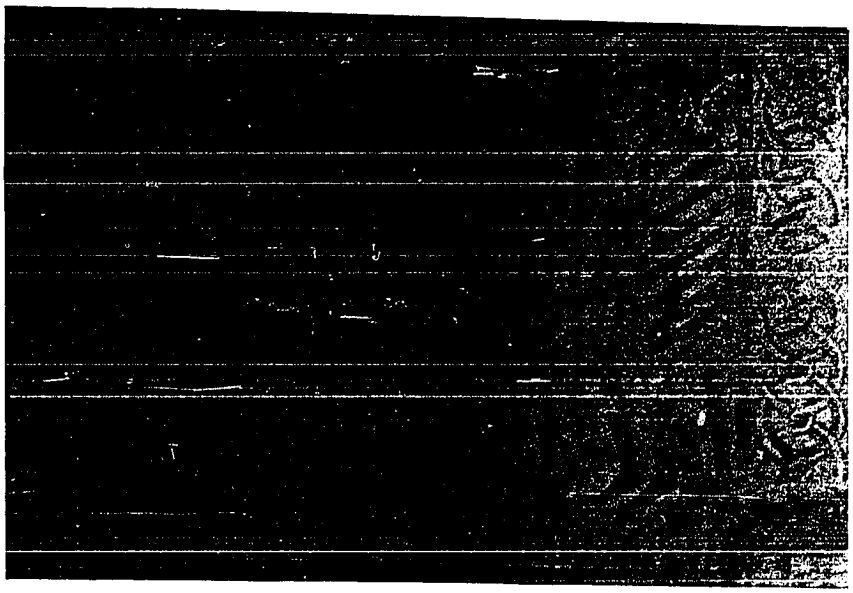

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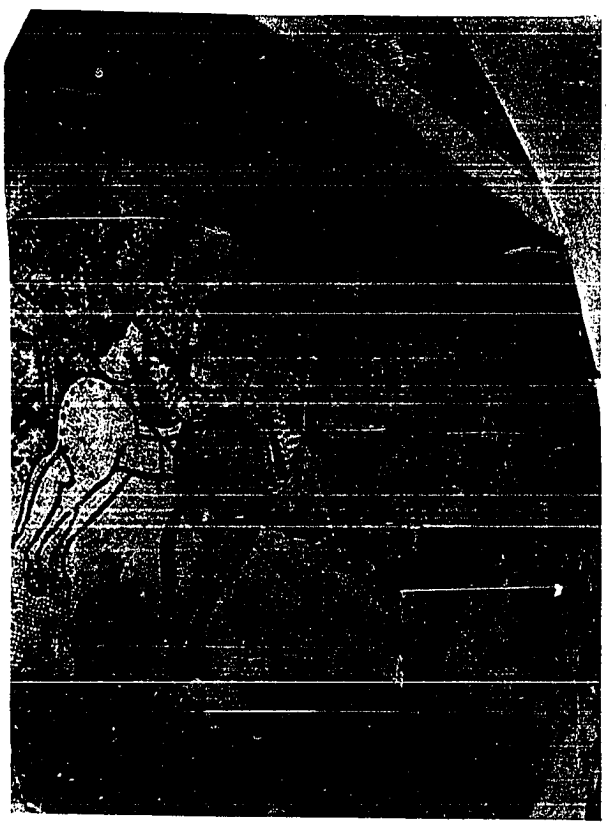

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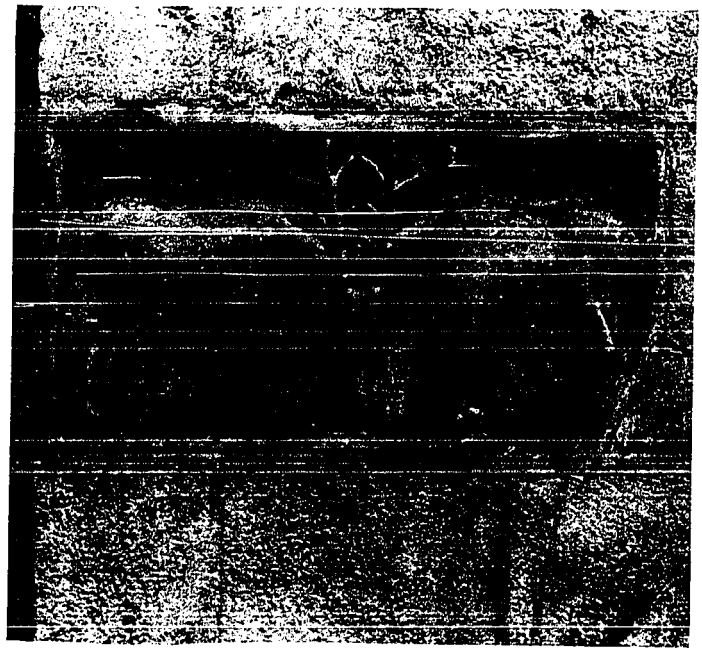

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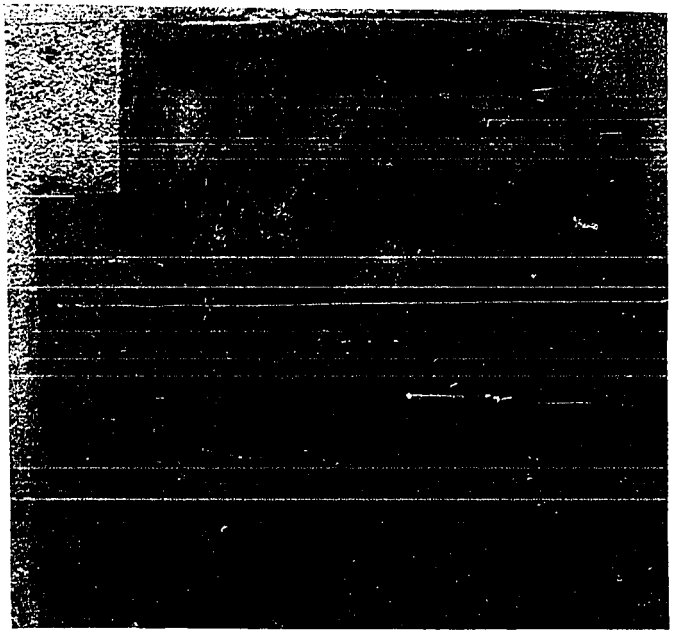

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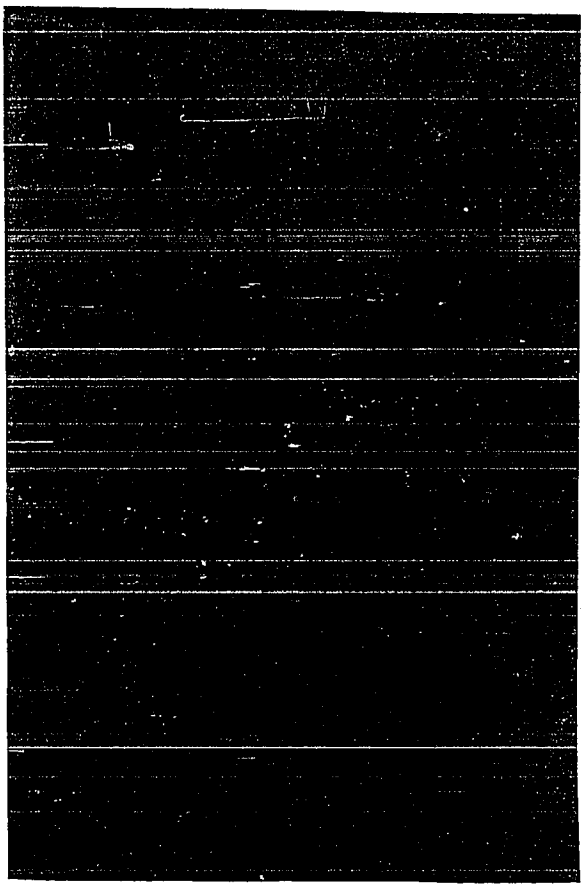

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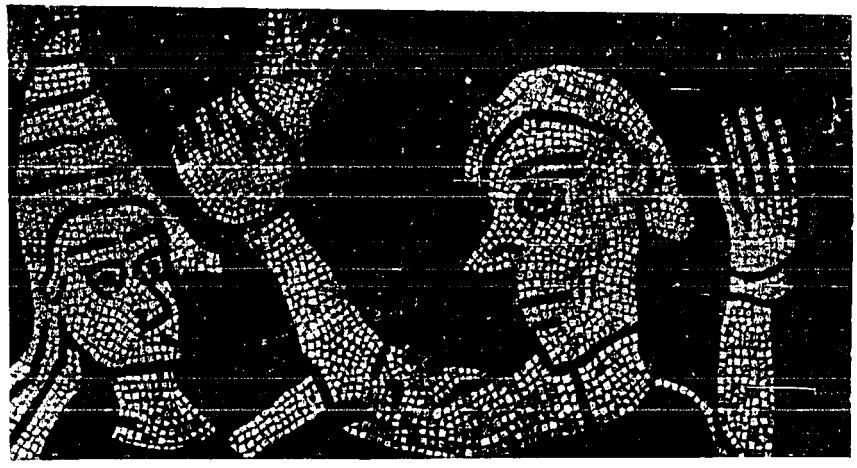

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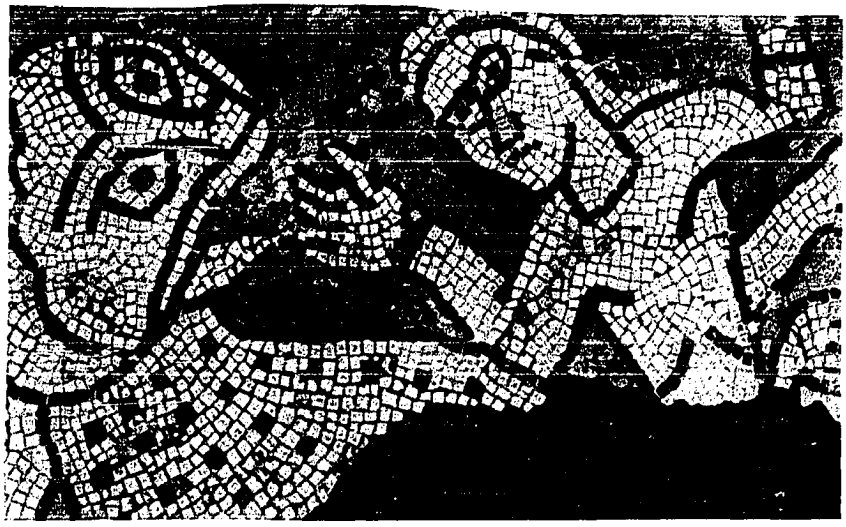

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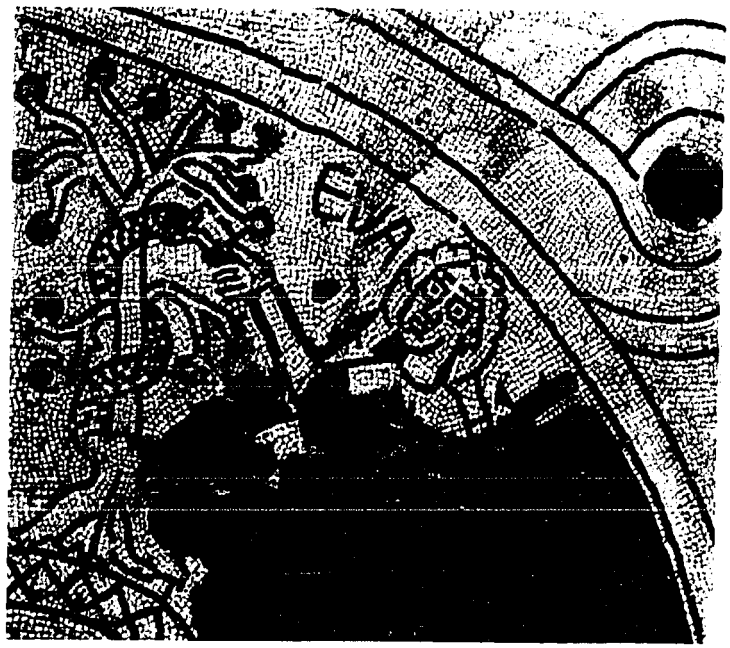

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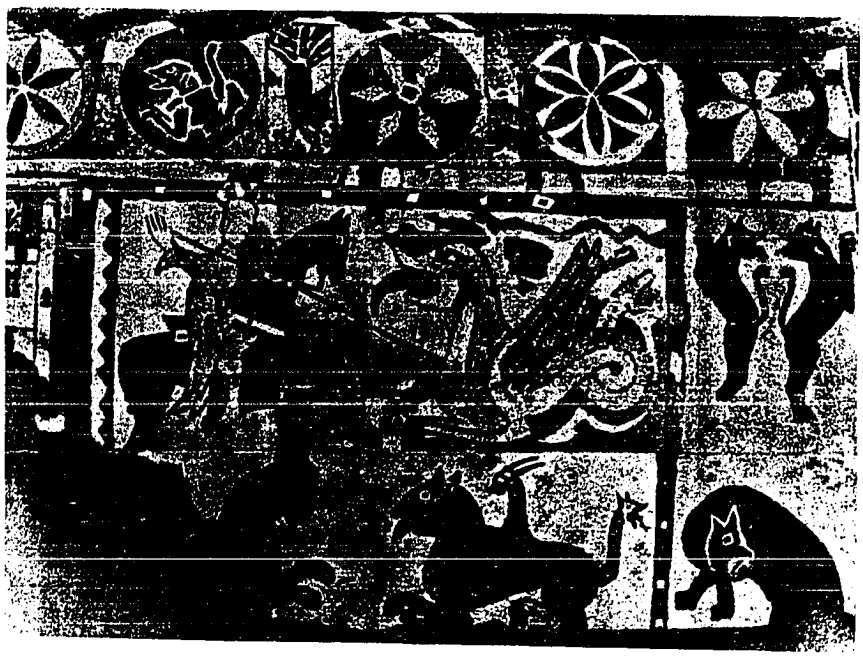

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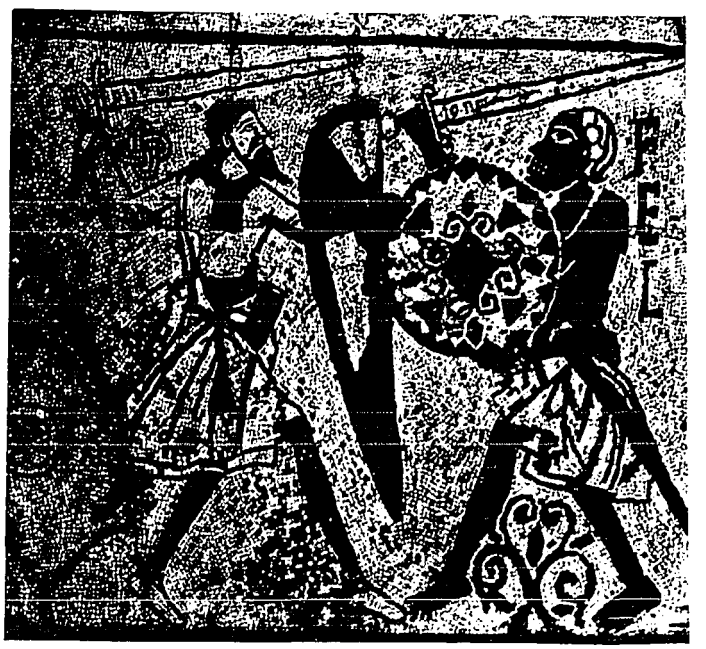

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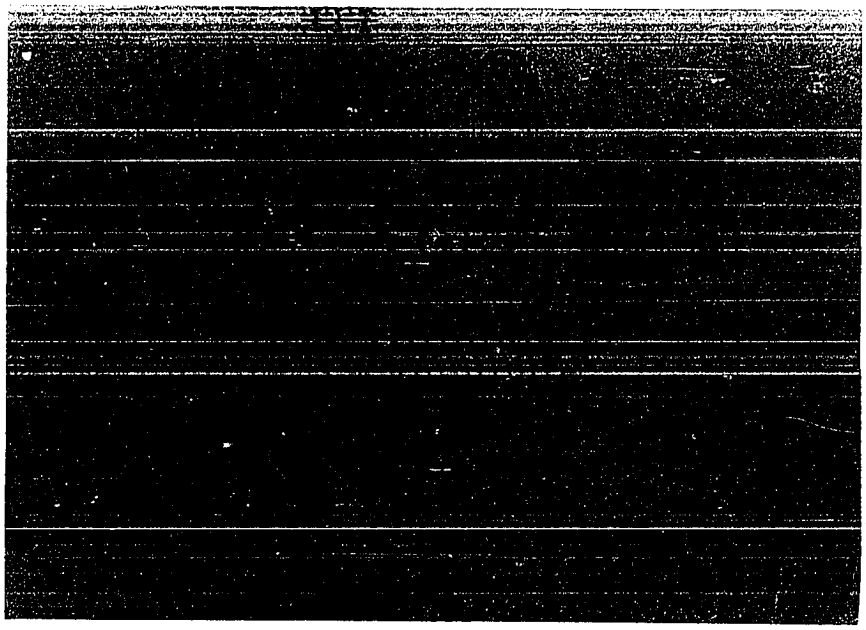

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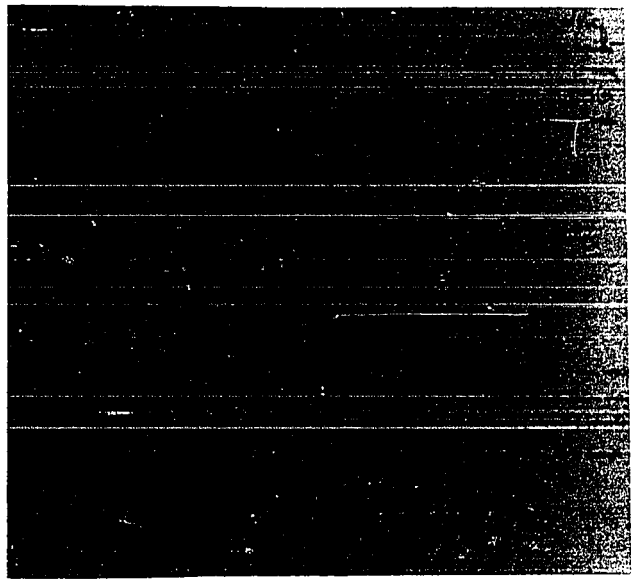

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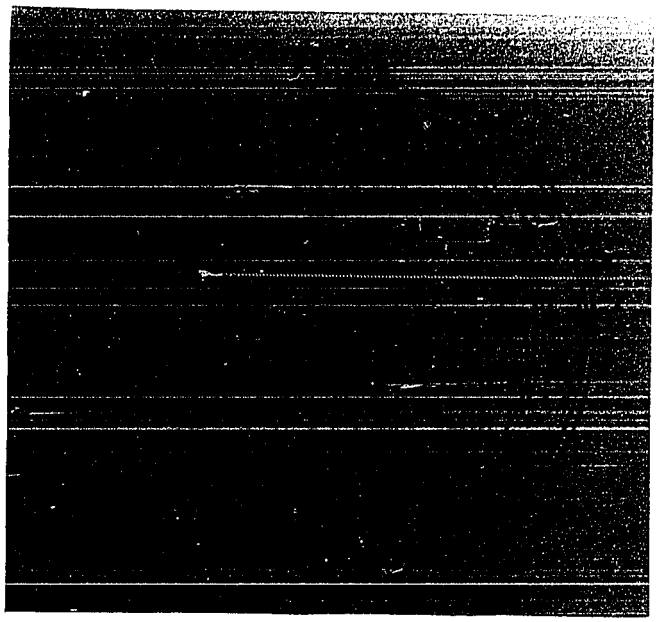

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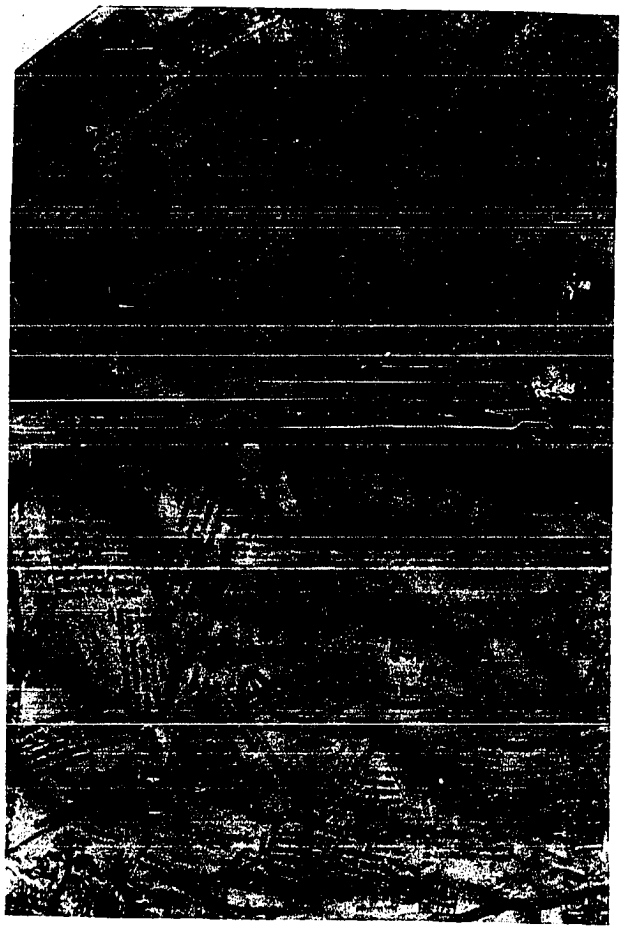

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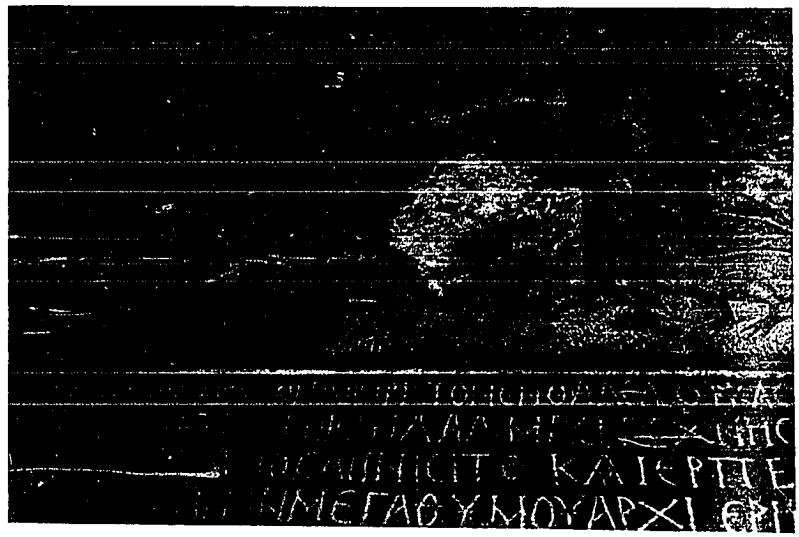

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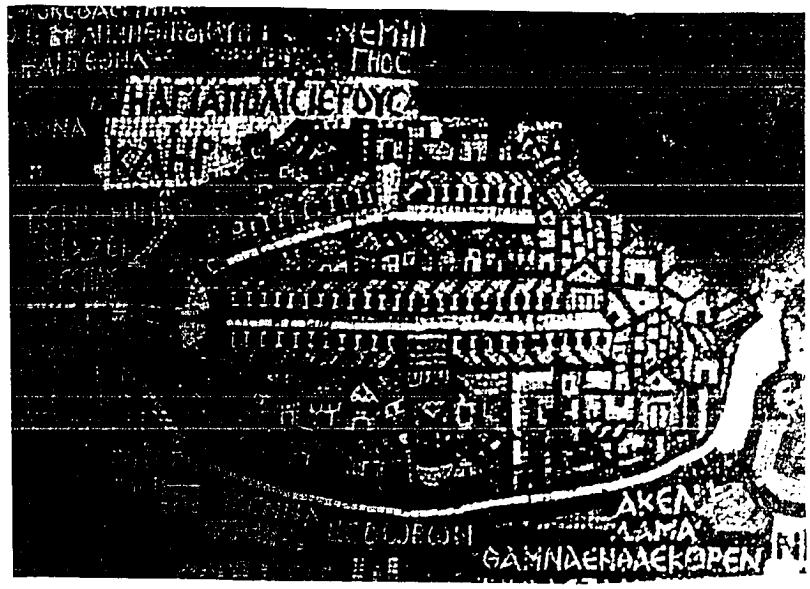

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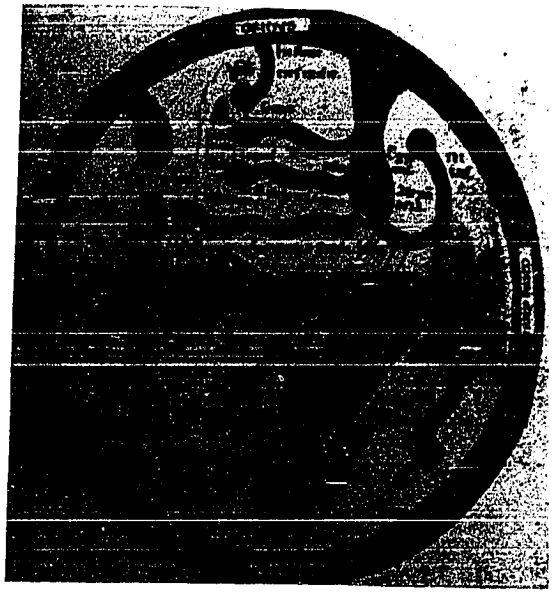

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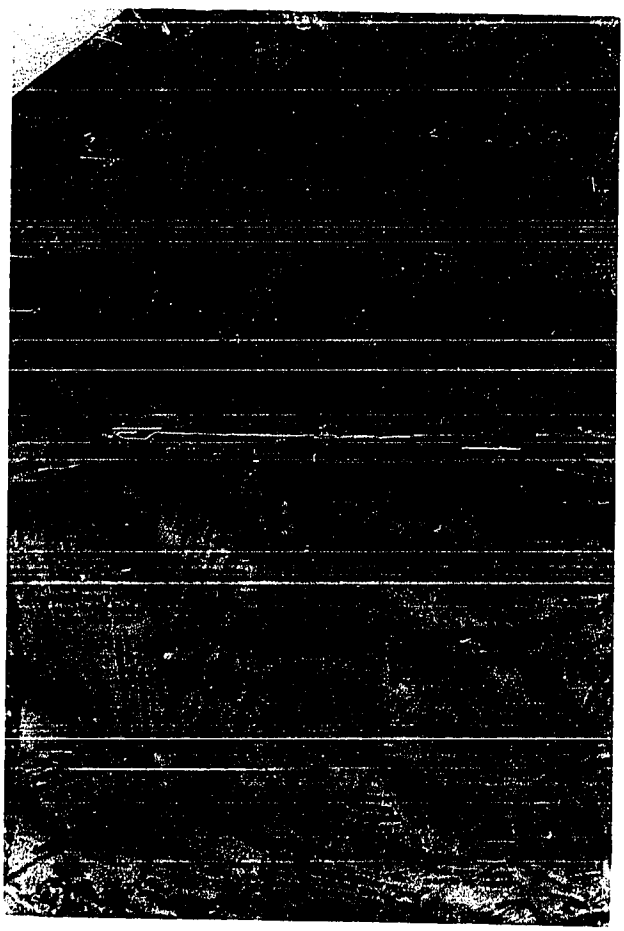

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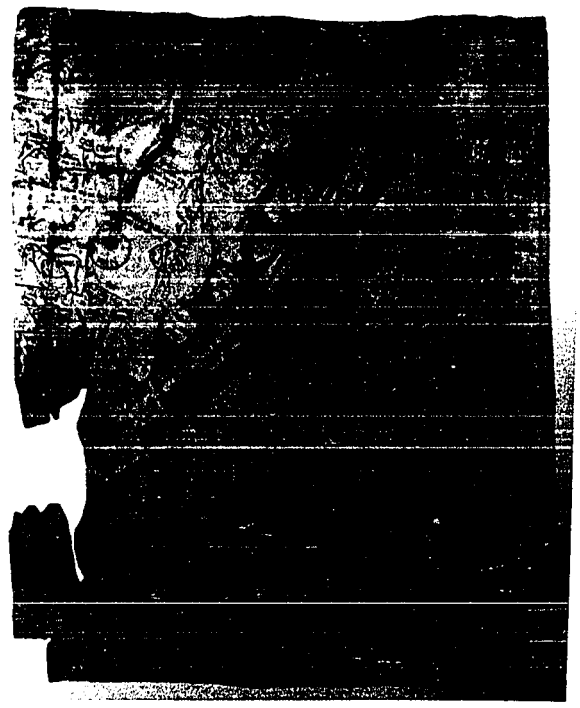

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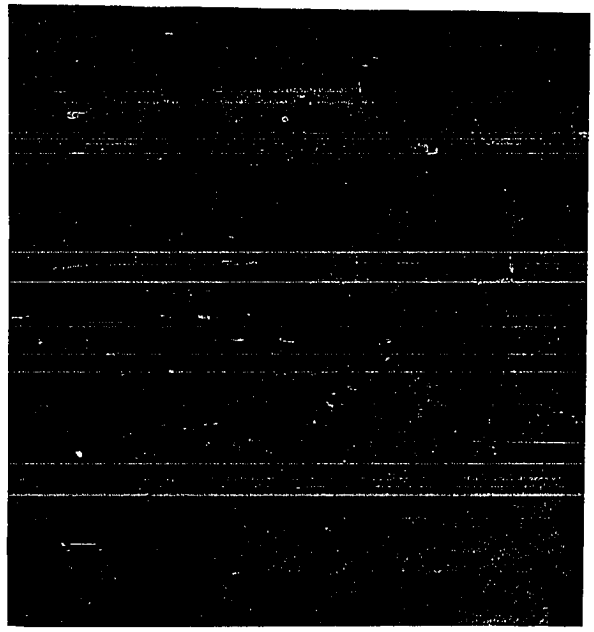

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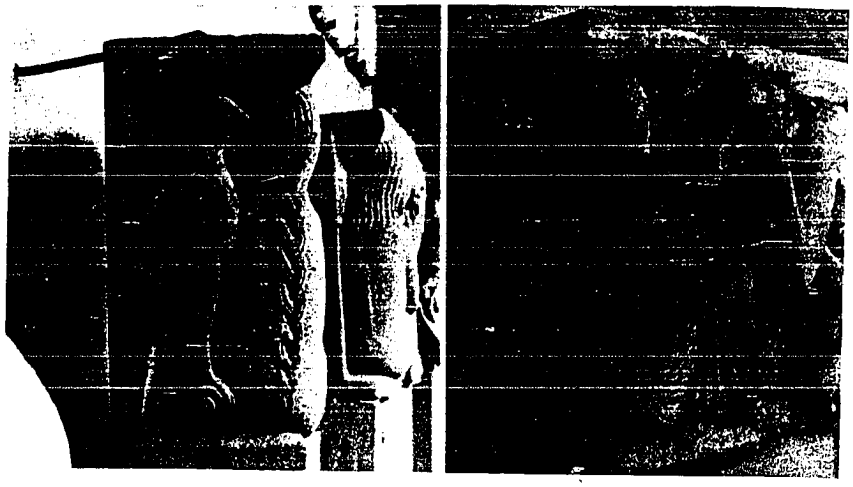

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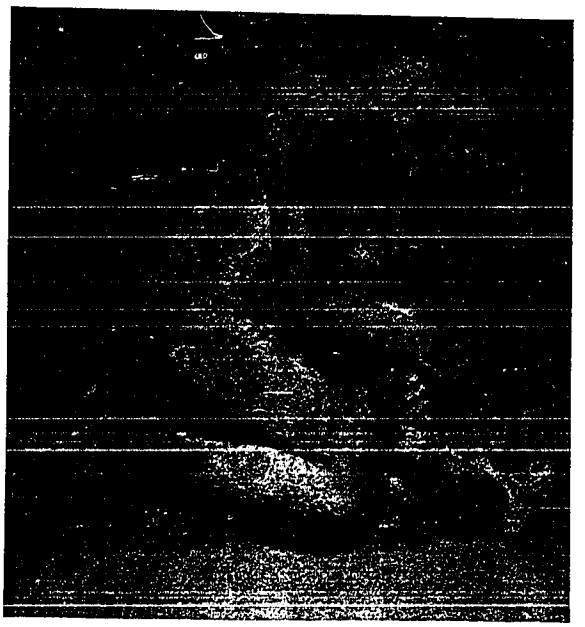

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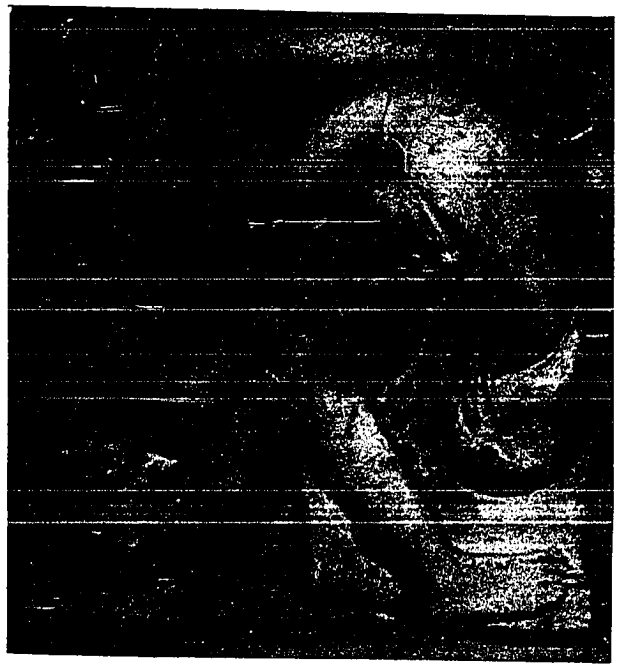

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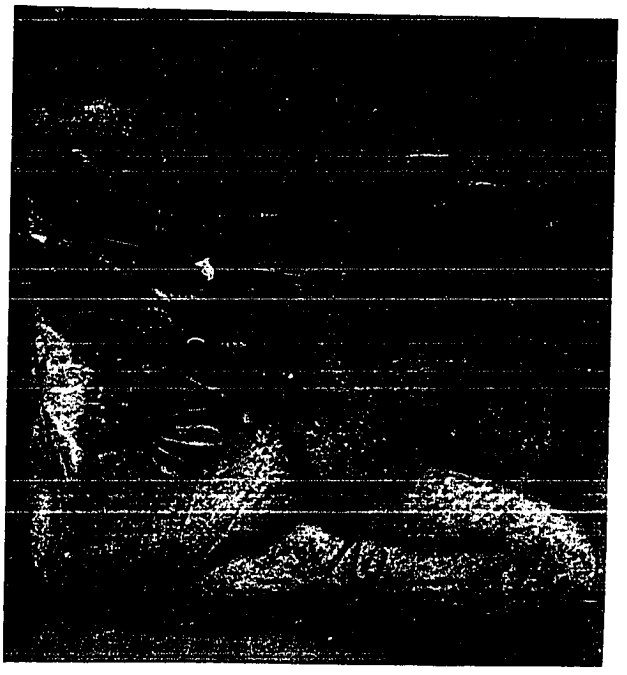

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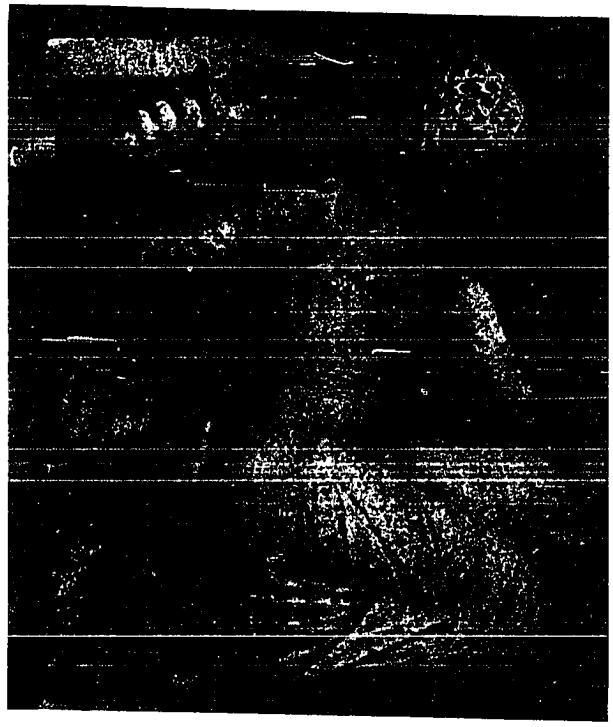

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